ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION

SECOND EDITION

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SYNOPTIC OUTLINE
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LINDSAY JONES
EDITOR IN CHIEF

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Encyclopedia of Religion, Second Edition

Lindsay Jones, Editor in Chief

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS USED IN THIS WORK

abbr. abbreviated; abbreviation
abr. abridged; abridgment
AD *anno Domini,* in the year of the (our) Lord
Afrik. Afrikaans
AH *anno Hegirae,* in the year of the Hijrah
Akk. Akkadian
Ala. Alabama
Alb. Albanian
Am. *Amos*
AM *ante meridiem,* before noon
amend. amended; amendment
annot. annotated; annotation
Ap. *Apocalypse*
Apn. *Apocryphon*
app. appendix
Arab. Arabic
ʿArakh. *ʿArakhin*
Aram. Aramaic
Ariz. Arizona
Ark. Arkansas
Arm. Armenian
art. article (pl., arts.)
AS Anglo-Saxon
Asm. Mos. *Assumption of Moses*
Assyr. Assyrian
A.S.S.R. Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Av. Avestan
ʿA.Z. *ʿAvodah zarah*
b. born
Bab. Babylonian
Ban. Bantu
1 Bar. *1 Baruch*
2 Bar. *2 Baruch*
3 Bar. *3 Baruch*
4 Bar. *4 Baruch*
B.B. *Bavaʾ batraʾ*
BBC British Broadcasting Corporation
BC before Christ
BCE before the common era
B.D. Bachelor of Divinity
Beits. *Beitsah*
Bekh. *Bekhorot*
Beng. Bengali
Ber. *Berakhot*
Berb. Berber
Bik. *Bikkurim*
bk. book (pl., bks.)
B.M. *Bavaʾ metsiʿaʾ*
BP before the present
B.Q. *Bavaʾ qammaʾ*
Brāh. *Brāhmaṇa*
Bret. Breton
B.T. Babylonian Talmud
Bulg. Bulgarian
Burm. Burmese
c. *circa,* about, approximately
Calif. California
Can. Canaanite
Catal. Catalan
CE of the common era
Celt. Celtic
cf. *confer,* compare
Chald. Chaldean
chap. chapter (pl., chaps.)
Chin. Chinese
C.H.M. Community of the Holy Myrrhbearers
1 Chr. *1 Chronicles*
2 Chr. *2 Chronicles*
Ch. Slav. Church Slavic
cm centimeters
col. column (pl., cols.)
Col. *Colossians*
Colo. Colorado
comp. compiler (pl., comps.)
Conn. Connecticut
cont. continued
Copt. Coptic
1 Cor. *1 Corinthians*
2 Cor. *2 Corinthians*
corr. corrected
C.S.P. Congregatio Sancti Pauli, Congregation of Saint Paul (Paulists)
d. died
D Deuteronomic (source of the Pentateuch)
Dan. Danish
D.B. Divinitatis Baccalaureus, Bachelor of Divinity
D.C. District of Columbia
D.D. Divinitatis Doctor, Doctor of Divinity
Del. Delaware
Dem. *Demaʾi*
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
Dn. *Daniel*
D.Phil. Doctor of Philosophy
Dt. *Deuteronomy*
Du. Dutch
E Elohist (source of the Pentateuch)
Eccl. *Ecclesiastes*
ed. editor (pl., eds.); edition; edited by

ʿEduy. *ʿEduyyot*
e.g. *exempli gratia,* for example
Egyp. Egyptian
1 En. *1 Enoch*
2 En. *2 Enoch*
3 En. *3 Enoch*
Eng. English
enl. enlarged
Eph. *Ephesians*
ʿEruv. *ʿEruvin*
1 Esd. *1 Esdras*
2 Esd. *2 Esdras*
3 Esd. *3 Esdras*
4 Esd. *4 Esdras*
esp. especially
Est. Estonian
Est. *Esther*
et al. *et alii,* and others
etc. *et cetera,* and so forth
Eth. Ethiopic
EV English version
Ex. *Exodus*
exp. expanded
Ez. *Ezekiel*
Ezr. *Ezra*
2 Ezr. *2 Ezra*
4 Ezr. *4 Ezra*
f. feminine; and following (pl., ff.)
fasc. fascicle (pl., fascs.)
fig. figure (pl., figs.)
Finn. Finnish
fl. *floruit,* flourished
Fla. Florida
Fr. French
frag. fragment
ft. feet
Ga. Georgia
Gal. *Galatians*
Gaul. Gaulish
Ger. German
Giṭ. *Giṭṭin*
Gn. *Genesis*
Gr. Greek
Ḥag. *Ḥagigah*
Ḥal. *Ḥallah*
Hau. Hausa
Hb. *Habakkuk*
Heb. Hebrew
Heb. *Hebrews*
Hg. *Haggai*
Hitt. Hittite
Hor. *Horayot*
Hos. *Hosea*
Ḥul. *Ḥullin*
Hung. Hungarian
ibid. *ibidem,* in the same place (as the one immediately preceding)
Icel. Icelandic
i.e. *id est,* that is
IE Indo-European
Ill. Illinois
Ind. Indiana
intro. introduction
Ir. Gael. Irish Gaelic
Iran. Iranian
Is. *Isaiah*
Ital. Italian
J Yahvist (source of the Pentateuch)
Jas. *James*
Jav. Javanese
Jb. *Job*
Jdt. *Judith*
Jer. *Jeremiah*
Jgs. *Judges*
Jl. *Joel*
Jn. *John*
1 Jn. *1 John*
2 Jn. *2 John*
3 Jn. *3 John*
Jon. *Jonah*
Jos. *Joshua*
Jpn. Japanese
JPS Jewish Publication Society translation (1985) of the Hebrew Bible
J.T. Jerusalem Talmud
Jub. *Jubilees*
Kans. Kansas
Kel. *Kelim*
Ker. *Keritot*
Ket. *Ketubbot*
1 Kgs. *1 Kings*
2 Kgs. *2 Kings*
Khois. Khoisan
Kil. *Kilʾayim*
km kilometers
Kor. Korean
Ky. Kentucky
l. line (pl., ll.)
La. Louisiana
Lam. *Lamentations*
Lat. Latin
Latv. Latvian
L. en Th. Licencié en Théologie, Licentiate in Theology
L. ès L. Licencié ès Lettres, Licentiate in Literature
Let. Jer. *Letter of Jeremiah*
lit. literally
Lith. Lithuanian
Lk. *Luke*
LL Late Latin
LL.D. Legum Doctor, Doctor of Laws
Lv. *Leviticus*
m meters
m. masculine
M.A. Master of Arts
Maʿas. *Maʿaserot*
Maʿas. Sh. *Maʿ aser sheni*
Mak. *Makkot*
Makh. *Makhshirin*
Mal. *Malachi*
Mar. Marathi
Mass. Massachusetts
1 Mc. *1 Maccabees*
2 Mc. *2 Maccabees*
3 Mc. *3 Maccabees*
4 Mc. *4 Maccabees*
Md. Maryland
M.D. Medicinae Doctor, Doctor of Medicine
ME Middle English
Meg. *Megillah*
Meʿil. *Meʿilah*
Men. *Menaḥot*
MHG Middle High German
mi. miles
Mi. *Micah*
Mich. Michigan
Mid. *Middot*
Minn. Minnesota
Miq. *Miqvaʾot*
MIran. Middle Iranian
Miss. Mississippi
Mk. *Mark*
Mo. Missouri
Moʿed Q. *Moʿed qaṭan*
Mont. Montana
MPers. Middle Persian
MS. *manuscriptum,* manuscript (pl., MSS)
Mt. *Matthew*
MT Masoretic text
n. note
Na. *Nahum*
Nah. Nahuatl
Naz. *Nazir*
N.B. *nota bene,* take careful note
N.C. North Carolina
n.d. no date
N.Dak. North Dakota
NEB New English Bible
Nebr. Nebraska

Ned. *Nedarim*
Neg. *Negaʿim*
Neh. *Nehemiah*
Nev. Nevada
N.H. New Hampshire
Nid. *Niddah*
N.J. New Jersey
Nm. *Numbers*
N.Mex. New Mexico
no. number (pl., nos.)
Nor. Norwegian
n.p. no place
n.s. new series
N.Y. New York
Ob. *Obadiah*
O.Cist. Ordo Cisterciensium, Order of Cîteaux (Cistercians)
OCS Old Church Slavonic
OE Old English
O.F.M. Ordo Fratrum Minorum, Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)
OFr. Old French
Ohal. *Ohalot*
OHG Old High German
OIr. Old Irish
OIran. Old Iranian
Okla. Oklahoma
ON Old Norse
O.P. Ordo Praedicatorum, Order of Preachers (Dominicans)
OPers. Old Persian
op. cit. *opere citato,* in the work cited
OPrus. Old Prussian
Oreg. Oregon
ʿOrl. *ʿOrlah*
O.S.B. Ordo Sancti Benedicti, Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)
p. page (pl., pp.)
P Priestly (source of the Pentateuch)
Pa. Pennsylvania
Pahl. Pahlavi
Par. *Parah*
para. paragraph (pl., paras.)
Pers. Persian
Pes. *Pesaḥim*
Ph.D. Philosophiae Doctor, Doctor of Philosophy
Phil. *Philippians*
Phlm. *Philemon*
Phoen. Phoenician
pl. plural; plate (pl., pls.)
PM *post meridiem,* after noon
Pol. Polish
pop. population
Port. Portuguese
Prv. *Proverbs*
Ps. *Psalms*
Ps. 151 *Psalm 151*
Ps. Sol. *Psalms of Solomon*
pt. part (pl., pts.)
1Pt. *1 Peter*
2 Pt. *2 Peter*
Pth. Parthian
Q hypothetical source of the synoptic Gospels
Qid. *Qiddushin*
Qin. *Qinnim*
r. reigned; ruled
Rab. *Rabbah*
rev. revised
R. ha-Sh. *Roʾsh ha-shanah*
R.I. Rhode Island
Rom. Romanian
Rom. *Romans*
R.S.C.J. Societas Sacratissimi Cordis Jesu, Religious of the Sacred Heart
RSV Revised Standard Version of the Bible
Ru. *Ruth*
Rus. Russian
Rv. *Revelation*
Rv. Ezr. *Revelation of Ezra*
San. *Sanhedrin*
S.C. South Carolina
Scot. Gael. Scottish Gaelic
S.Dak. South Dakota
sec. section (pl., secs.)
Sem. Semitic
ser. series
sg. singular
Sg. *Song of Songs*
Sg. of 3 *Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men*
Shab. *Shabbat*
Shav. *Shavuʿot*
Sheq. *Sheqalim*
Sib. Or. *Sibylline Oracles*
Sind. Sindhi
Sinh. Sinhala
Sir. *Ben Sira*
S.J. Societas Jesu, Society of Jesus (Jesuits)
Skt. Sanskrit
1 Sm. *1 Samuel*
2 Sm. *2 Samuel*
Sogd. Sogdian
Soṭ. *Soṭah*
sp. species (pl., spp.)
Span. Spanish
sq. square
S.S.R. Soviet Socialist Republic
st. stanza (pl., ss.)
S.T.M. Sacrae Theologiae Magister, Master of Sacred Theology
Suk. *Sukkah*
Sum. Sumerian
supp. supplement; supplementary
Sus. *Susanna*
s.v. *sub verbo,* under the word (pl., s.v.v.)
Swed. Swedish
Syr. Syriac
Syr. Men. *Syriac Menander*
Taʿan. *Taʿanit*
Tam. Tamil
Tam. *Tamid*
Tb. *Tobit*
T.D. *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* edited by Takakusu Junjirō et al. (Tokyo,1922–1934)
Tem. *Temurah*
Tenn. Tennessee
Ter. Terumot
Ṭev. Y. *Ṭevul yom*
Tex. Texas
Th.D. Theologicae Doctor, Doctor of Theology
1 Thes. *1 Thessalonians*
2 Thes. *2 Thessalonians*
Thrac. Thracian
Ti. *Titus*
Tib. Tibetan
1 Tm. *1 Timothy*
2 Tm. *2 Timothy*
T. of 12 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
Ṭoh. *ṭohorot*
Tong. Tongan
trans. translator, translators; translated by; translation
Turk. Turkish
Ukr. Ukrainian
Upan. *Upaniṣad*
U.S. United States
U.S.S.R. Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
Uqts. *Uqtsin*
v. verse (pl., vv.)
Va. Virginia
var. variant; variation
Viet. Vietnamese

viz. *videlicet,* namely
vol. volume (pl., vols.)
Vt. Vermont
Wash. Washington
Wel. Welsh
Wis. Wisconsin
Wis. *Wisdom of Solomon*
W.Va. West Virginia
Wyo. Wyoming

Yad. *Yadayim*
Yev. *Yevamot*
Yi. Yiddish
Yor. Yoruba
Zav. *Zavim*
Zec. *Zechariah*
Zep. *Zephaniah*
Zev. *Zevaḥim*

* hypothetical
? uncertain; possibly; perhaps
° degrees
\+ plus
– minus
= equals; is equivalent to
× by; multiplied by
→ yields

APPENDIX

The following articles were not included in the main body of the Encyclopedia due to time constraints. The titles of these articles do not appear in the List of Articles or the List of Contributors (in volume 1), but these articles are referenced in the Synoptic Outline of Contents and in the Index (in volume 15).

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BUDDHIST BOOKS AND TEXTS: CANON AND CANONIZATION—ABHIDHARMA

The Sanskrit term *abhidharma* (Pali, *abhidhamma)* typically refers to the texts that constitute the third of the "three baskets" *(tripiṭaka)* of the Buddhist canon. Yet most of the early accounts of the first "collective recitation" *(saṃgīti)* of Buddhist texts, which took place in Rājagṛha shortly after the Buddha's death (c. 400 BCE), envisage the texts as falling into just two main categories: (1) the "teaching" *(dharma)*, consisting of the various "sayings" *(sutta/sūtra)* delivered by the Buddha on specific occasions, and (2) the "discipline" (vinaya) governing individual and communal monastic life. Some accounts, however, mention "lists" *(mātṛkā)* as a third category. This seems to refer to lists extracted from the discipline and sayings of the Buddha that functioned partly as summaries and partly as maps of the teaching; a number of early Abhidharma texts are built around such lists, and their use and elaboration seems at least in part to be associated with the development of the Abhidharma literature.

The term *abhidharma* itself seems to derive from the expression *abhi dhamme*, which is found in several texts of the Pali Sutta and Vinaya *piṭakas* in the sense of "concerning the teaching(s)." As the name of the third division of Buddhist canonical texts, however, *abhidharma* has usually been interpreted by the Buddhist exegetical tradition as meaning "higher," "special," or "further" teaching.

Commentators usually contrast the method and style of this special teaching with the method and style of the discourses of the Buddha (Pali, *suttanta;* Skt., *sūtrānta).* Thus the texts of the Sūtra Piṭaka are regarded as characteristically addressed to particular individuals in particular circumstances; their language is conventional *(vohāra/vyavahāra),* and terms must be understood relative to context *(pariyāyena).* The texts of the Abhidharma Piṭaka, on the other hand, present the Buddha's teaching without any concession to individual circumstances; their language is absolute *(paramattha/paramārtha)* and terms must be understood as having fixed, final meanings *(nippariyāyena).* In fact this kind of distinction between relative and absolute statements of the teaching is already clearly present in some contexts in the discourses of the Sūtra Piṭaka, indicative of the manner in which the Abhidharma method develops preexisting tendencies in early Buddhist literature.

THE CANONICAL ABHIDHARMA OF THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS AND THERAVĀDINS. It is generally assumed that just as various ancient Indian schools preserved their own versions of the Sūtra and Vinaya texts, so they also preserved their own canonical Abhidharma collections, yet definite knowledge of the Abhidharma Piṭaka is restricted to the texts of two schools: the Sarvāstivādins, who flourished particularly in northern India, and the Theravādins, who flourished especially on the island of Lanka and represent a southern branch of the Sthaviras.

Of the canonical Abhidharma collections recognized by other schools nothing is known for certain. It may be that they represented different recensions of the Sarvāstivādin or Theravādin materials. Certainly it seems that in some cases they consisted of texts that are now lost; the Pudgalavādins, for example, are said to have possessed an Abhidharma in nine parts, which has not survived. Nevertheless, there is evidence suggestive of the widespread interest in Abhidharma literature: The vast corpus of translated works that constitutes the Chinese Tripiṭaka preserves at least one or two Abhidharma treatises that might belong to schools other than the Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda; new Sanskrit and Middle Indic textual fragments that have to do with Abhidharma continue to come to light. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the kinds of ideas found articulated in Abhidharma texts were crucial to the development of Indian Buddhist thought. It therefore seems clear that the schools of ancient Indian Buddhism generally recognized some form of the Abhidharma.

The developed exegetical traditions of both the Sarvāstivādins and Theravādins understand the canonical Abhidharma to consist of a definite set of seven texts. The two schools, however, each specify a quite different set of texts.

The Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma comprises the *Saṃgītiparyāya* (Discourse on the collective recitation), the *Dharmaskandha* (Compendium of *dharmas*), the *Prajñaptiśstra* (Manual of instruction), the *Vijñānakāya* (Compendium of consciousness), *Dhātukāya* (Compendium of elements), the *Prakaraṇa* (Treatise), and the *Jñānaprasthāna* (Foundation of knowledge). These seven texts survive in full only in their ancient Chinese translations and have yet to be translated into a modern European language.

The Theravādin Abhidhamma comprises the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* (Enumeration of *dhammas),* the *Vibhaṅga* (Analysis), the *Dhātukathā* (Discourse on elements), the *Puggalapaññatti* (Designation of types of person), the *Kathāvatthu* (Points of discussion), the *Yamaka* (Pairs), and the *Paṭṭhāna* (Conditions). The seven texts of the Theravādins are preserved in the hybrid Middle Indian dialect known today as Pali, and all but the *Yamaka* have been translated into English, though in the case of the *Paṭṭhāna* not completely.

THE ABHIDHARMA AS "THE WORD OF THE BUDDHA." The Buddhist tradition's own general lack of consensus about the content of the Abhidharma Piṭaka contrasts with the relative consensus concerning the core contents of the Vinaya and Sūtra *piṭakas*, and suggests again that the third *piṭaka* came into existence somewhat later than the other two.

Later Buddhist exegetical literature contains indications of discussion and disagreements over the texts to be included in the Abhidharma Piṭaka. Nevertheless, like the Sūtra and Vinaya, the Abhidharma was generally regarded as "the word of the Buddha" *(buddhavacana),* and just as the Sūtra in fact contained some texts explicitly attributed to the Buddha's

chief disciples rather than the Buddha himself (though sometimes endorsed by him at the close), so some early Abhidharma works—especially according to Sarvāstivādin tradition—are associated with the names of the Buddha's disciples. Thus the *Saṃgītiparyāya* of the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma takes the form of a commentary on a sūtra *(sutta)* attributed to Śāriputra that is preserved in the collection of long sayings *(Dīrghāgama/Dīgha Nikāya)* of the Sūtra Piṭaka. Other Abhidharma texts are associated with the names of other immediate disciples, such as Maudgalyāyana and Kātyāyana, while some texts, for example the Sarvāstivādin *Vijñānakāya* and the Theravādin *Kathāvatthu*, are attributed to disciples—Devaśarman and Moggaliputtatissa, respectively—who according to tradition lived some time after the death of the Buddha. Significantly the attribution of texts to specific disciples is inconsistent: Chinese tradition, for example, attributes the *Dharmaskandha* to Śāriputra, while Tibetan and Sanskrit tradition attributes it to Maudgalyāyana. There is also a more general tendency to associate the Abhidharma with the name of Śāriputra, the disciple of the Buddha who in the sūtras is said to be chief in wisdom. A text whose affiliation is uncertain is styled "the treatise on the Abhidharma of Śāriputra" *(Śāriputrābhidharma Śāstra).* Moreover, according to Theravādin tradition, while the Buddha worked out the content of the Abhidhamma in the fourth week after his awakening, he did not make it known until much later, when he spent the three months of the rainy season in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three teaching his mother and the assembled gods. The story goes that each day he would retire to a grove of sandal trees on the shores of the mythical Lake Anotatta, where he would impart to Sāriputta what he had taught earlier; Sāriputta in turn passed it on to his five hundred disciples. The fact that the Abhidharma was associated with disciples of the Buddha who in some cases were acknowledged to have lived some time after him, meant that it was open to the challenge that it was not, either as a whole or in part, the "word of the Buddha." The introduction to the fifth century CE *Atthasālinī*, a commentary on the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī,* refers to some who accepted only an Abhidhamma consisting of six books, since they rejected the *Kathāvatthu* on the grounds that it was not the word of the Buddha, but the work of Moggaliputtatissa (third century BCE). Such challenges were generally countered, however, by the insistence that the Abhidharma's real author was indeed the Buddha: While his disciples may have elaborated certain details, they had done so on the basis of a structure and framework that the Buddha himself had established for each text.

The Development of the Early Abhidharma Literature. All this suggests that the early Abhidharma texts should perhaps be seen as the work of the first generations of the Buddha's disciples, rather than of the Buddha himself; the Buddhist tradition itself seems to acknowledge this, while at the same time wishing to emphasize that the profundity of these texts is proof that they are ultimately the products of the perfect wisdom of a buddha.

It seems likely that what came to be regarded as canonical Abhidharma treatises were not works composed at a particular time by single authors, but evolved over decades, if not centuries, out of materials and in accordance with certain literary and philosophical tendencies already present in the Sūtra and Vinaya portions of the canon.

That the lines between Sūtra and Abhidharma are on occasion somewhat blurred is apparent from the fact that certain texts of the fifth collection *(Khuddaka Nikāya)* of the Theravādin Sutta Piṭaka—texts such as the *Niddesa* and *Paṭisambhidāmagga*—would seem to belong in form and spirit to the Abhidhamma Piṭaka.

The Abhidharma use of lists has already been referred to. The prevalence of lists in early Buddhist literature is partly a consequence of its being composed and for some centuries preserved orally: Lists were clearly useful mnemonic devices. Already in the Sūtra Piṭaka certain texts take the form of collections of lists, providing bare definitions of items that are treated more discursively elsewhere. Once such text is the *Saṃgīti Sūtra,* which survives in several versions and which, as mentioned above, formed the basis of one of the canonical works of the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma. One of the four primary divisions (Āgama/Nikāya) of the Sūtra Piṭaka is the collection of "grouped" *(saṃyukta/saṃyutta)* sayings, which groups the sayings of the Buddha connected with specific topics. The topics highlighted in the grouped collection include the twelve links of dependent origination, the five aggregates, the six senses, the four ways of establishing mindfulness, the four right efforts, the four bases of success, the five faculties, the five powers, the seven constituents of awakening, the eightfold path, the four noble truths, the four stages of meditation, and the four divine abidings. Essentially the same list of items provides the table of contents for two Abhidharma works, the Theravādin *Vibhaṅga* and Sarvāstivādin *Dharmaskandha.* The characteristic literary style of the Abhidharma in this context is to take a list derived from the sūtras and provide a succinct statement and definition of terms.

Another literary style developed from the Sūtra Piṭaka (again, particularly the *Saṃyuktāgama/Saṃyutta Nikāya*), is the application of formulaic treatments to a number of different items without setting out the text in full: The variables are indicated in summary fashion and the text is set out in a radically abbreviated form, leaving it somewhat open ended. In fact it is said in the exegetical tradition that if the seven texts of the Theravādin Abhidhamma were elaborated in full, each would be infinite in extent.

Another feature of the Abhidharma use of lists reflects certain intellectual developments in Buddhist thought. Lists of terms that in the discourses of the Buddha are apparently presented as sequential descriptions of a process are reinterpreted in the Abhidharma as applying to momentary events. The well known list of twelve links of "dependent origination" *(pratītya-samutpāda/paṭicca-samuppāda)*—ignorance, formations, consciousness, name and form, six senses,

contact, feeling, craving, attachment, becoming, birth, old age and death—appears in the discourses to describe a process that involves a succession of events arising over some period of time, possibly more than a single life. In an Abhidhamma text like the *Vibhaṅga* of the Theravādins, the time scale of this process of dependent origination is reduced, and the process is now seen as operating from moment to moment. This reflects the fundamental Abhidharma vision of the processes of causality that lie at the heart of reality and involve the interaction of nothing more than *dharmas* (Pali, *dhamma*), momentary mental and physical "qualities."

Later Exegetical Abhidharma Literature. The development of systematic Buddhist thought is to be associated with the Abhidharma literature in general, yet the canonical texts—at least as presented in the Theravādin and Sarvāstivādin collections—still represent somewhat loose and unsystematic expositions of certain aspects of Buddhist thought; there is no attempt at a systematic exposition of the whole. This lack seems to have been felt by the tradition, which from perhaps the first century CE began to produce commentaries and summary manuals offering definitive interpretations of the canonical material and filling in certain gaps. With the production of these exegetical texts the term *Abhidharma* comes to denote not so much a set of texts, but the more general systematic exposition of Buddhist thought in accordance with the traditions of the earlier Abhidharma texts and their commentaries.

For the Sarvāstivādins the crucial text is a *vibhāṣā* or "commentary" on the *Jñānaprasthāna* of the Abhidharma Piṭaka, which was composed in northwest India in perhaps the first or second century and circulated in at least three different recensions. The commentary gives its name to a school of Abhidharma interpretation, the Vaibhāṣikas or "followers of the views and opinions found in the *vibhāṣā*." The Vaibhāṣika tradition of Abhidharma also finds expression in a series of shorter summary manuals, such as the "Heart of Abhidharma" *(abhidharmahṛdaya)* works of Upaśānta and Dharmatrāta (third and fourth centuries). The Vaibhāṣika-Sarvāstivādin interpretation of Abhidharma was not the only one current in northern India. For the Buddhist traditions of China and Tibet down to the present day, the term *Abhidharma* has come to be equated with one text in particular, the *Abhidharmakośa* or "Treasury of Abhidharma" of Vasubandhu (fourth or fifth century), a set of verses with an auto prose commentary *(bhāṣya),* which sets out a critique of certain key Vaibhāṣika doctrines, such as their theory of existence in relation to past, present, and future time. Works such as Saṅghabhadra's *Abhidharma-samayapradīpika* (Illumination of Abhidharma) and the anonymous *Abhidharmadīpa* (The lamp of Abhidharma) are attempts on the part of Vaibhāṣika masters to address Vasubandhu's criticisms.

In making his critique, Vasubandhu often refers to the views of the Sautrāntikas or "those who follow the sūtras," a loosely affiliated group that questioned certain aspects of the Vaibhāṣika Abhidharma vision that they argued were not supported by the sūtras. Although the Sautrāntikas did not acknowledge the Abhidharma as the "word of the Buddha," their position did not amount to a wholehearted rejection of the value of the Abhidharma tradition. In works such as Asaṅga's (fourth century) *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (Compendium of Abhidharma), the traditions of the Sautrāntika-Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma were reworked by the Mahāyāna philosophical school known as Yogācāra, exponents of a form of philosophical idealism *(vijñaptimātra).* Indeed, the author of the *Abhidharmakośa* is possibly identical with the Yogācārin Vasubandhu (fourth century).

In the south the Theravādins also produced summary manuals of their Abhidhamma system. The earliest surviving texts appear to be two works of Buddhadatta (fourth or fifth century): the *Rūpārūpavibhāga* (Analysis of the material and immaterial) and *Abhidhammāvatāra* (Introduction to Abhidhamma). In more recent centuries Theravādin Abhidhamma studies has flourished particularly in Burma (present-day Myanmar), where tradition has focused on a set of seven relatively concise "little finger" *(let than)* manuals of diverse date (tenth to fifteenth centuries) and origin (Lanka, southern India, Burma): *Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*, *Paramatthavinicchaya*, *Nāmarūpapariccheda*, *Saccasaṅkhepa*, *Nāmarūpasamāsa*, *Nāmacāradīpika*, and *Mohavicchedanī;* sometimes the little finger manuals are counted as nine, by including Buddhadatta's manuals. Of these seven or nine manuals, it is the first, Anuruddha's "Summary of the Topics of Abhidhamma," composed in Lanka in perhaps the tenth century, that has long been the standard textbook of Abhidhamma in the lands of Theravāda Buddhism. This summary of some fifty pages is often supplemented by its various commentaries, especially Sumaṅgala's *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinīṭīkā* (Exposition of the topics of Abhidhamma) composed in Lanka in the twelfth century.

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RUPERT GETHIN (2005)

CARIBBEAN RELIGIONS: HISTORY OF STUDY

This essay attempts to address the study of Caribbean religion from the time of initial European contact to the beginning of the twenty-first century. As such, it encompasses both aboriginal Caribbean religions and African-derived religions. While the study of Caribbean religions could be seen as a gradual progression from a focus on the exotic to more objective, tolerant, or sympathetic portrayals, such is not always the case. At every stage in the study of Caribbean religions, highly sensationalized accounts—whether of alleged cannibalism among the island-Caribs or the bizarre acts attributed to vodou practitioners in Haiti—continue to exist alongside more objective and sympathetic accounts. Even today, sensationalism abounds in media portrayals of Haitian vodou. For example, Wes Craven's 1988 movie version of Wade Davis's *Serpent and the Rainbow* (1985) still commands greater attention than Davis's scholarly work. Joseph M. Murphy states: "One of the highest hurdles to be overcome in interpreting diasporan traditions to outsiders is the deep-seated popular image of them as 'voodoo' malign 'black magic.' Hundreds of books and scores of films have portrayed the spirituality of millions of people of African descent as crazed, depraved, or demonic manipulations of gullible and irrational people" (1994, p. x).

EARLY MISSIONARY AND TRAVELERS' REPORTS. As Dale Bisnauth correctly points out in his *History of Religions in the*

Caribbean (1989), the study of Caribbean religions begins with Catholic missionary activities among aboriginal peoples. Initial reports concerning Caribbean religions were largely written by Europeans who had two agendas: (1) the conversion of native populations to Catholicism, and (2) the subjugation of aboriginal populations. In the later part of the twentieth century, new translations of the early chroniclers became available (e.g., Dunn and Kelley, 1988). These new translations provide greater insight into European perceptions of aboriginal Caribbean religions.

Christopher Columbus's initial statements concerning aboriginal religions indicate that he did not think the natives to be religious at all. In his diary of the first voyage, he mentioned native religions three times. In the first instance, he suggested that the natives of San Salvador would become Christians easily because "it would seem to me that they had no religion at all." On the island of Hispaniola, he again asserts that it should be easy to convert them to Christianity since they "have no religion of their own and are not idolaters."

Columbus's statements concerning the lack of religion among Amerindians are echoed in writings from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But most contemporary scholars contend to the contrary that the aboriginal people of the Caribbean were among the most religious people on earth. A measure of their religious intensity is the relatively low rate of conversion to Christianity noted by the early chroniclers. Spanish and later French missionaries experienced little immediate success with Caribbean natives and complained that the natives rapidly reverted to pagan ways whenever the opportunity presented itself. Conversion to Christianity was rarely complete, even into the seventeenth century.

From a religious standpoint, the most intense and protracted contact between Europeans and Amerindians took place on the island of Hispaniola. On his third voyage in 1495, Columbus commissioned a poorly educated Hieronymite priest, Raymond Pane, to live among the Taino for two years and compile a description of their religious beliefs and practices. Very little is known concerning Pane and the fate of his report to Columbus, which he completed around 1496 or 1497. Pane's original report has been lost, but was reconstructed in 1968 by José Arrom from a 1571 Italian translation. Father Pane holds two important distinctions. He was the first Caribbean ethnographer, and he baptized Guaticabantu, the first Caribbean native to become a Christian.

With the notable exception of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés (1535), early Spanish accounts are of limited value to historians. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries French missionaries wrote more detailed descriptions of aboriginal religion, including the astute and careful observations of Mathias du Puis, Jean Baptiste du Tertre, and Jean Baptiste Labat, as well as the comprehensive Carib-French/French-Carib dictionary composed by Raymond Breton.

Twentieth-century interpreters of island-Carib religion emphasize that the religious life was greatly influenced by the harsh physical environment. As Bisnauth concluded, "hostile environments bred hostile spirits" (1989, p. 10).

With respect to aboriginal religions, few new sources have emerged, but there have been major advances in archaeological research (Rouse, 1992; Wilson, 1990). The most noteworthy advances have occurred as a result of the introduction of new techniques in underwater archaeology. The exploration of flooded caves (see Becker et al., 2002) has yielded numerous religious objects fashioned from wood and cloth. Raymond Pane's account emphasized the importance of wooden objects for Taino religion, but few examples had been found. Now, thanks to advances in underwater archaeology researchers have access to examples of wooden stools, *zemis,* and other decorated objects that are of finer workmanship and much more detailed than their stone counterparts.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the aboriginal population declined and attention increasingly focused on the religions of African slaves. Perhaps the best-known account is Mérédec Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry's *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique, et historique de la partie française de l'isle Saint-Dominque* (1797). Moreau (vol. 1, p. 55) has the distinction of providing one of the first descriptions of an early vodou ceremony. Another excellent eighteenth-century source is Bryan Edwards's *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies* (1794). Edwards's history contains important data on religious practices of the Black Caribs.

Accounts of travelers and socialites like Mrs. A. C. Carmichael's *Domestic Manners and Social Conditions of the White, Colored, and Negro Population of the West Indies* (1833) provide insights into the religions of both planters and slaves. Plantation owners—especially the French Creoles of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Trinidad—made a surprising number of astute observations concerning slave religion. Yvonne Chireau (2003) makes excellent use of these materials. Although Chireau's book focuses on the United States, it also includes considerable information on Caribbean religious beliefs and practices.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Protestant missionaries replaced Catholic missionaries as the primary observers of Afro-Caribbean religions. Missionary writings, of course, always reflect a great deal about the missionaries themselves as well as their prospective converts. Arthur Charles Dayfoot (1999) points out that nineteenth-century Protestant missionaries took ample note of native religious practices.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries mark the beginning of anthropological interest in Caribbean religions—both aboriginal and African American, and a great deal of Caribbean research (notably the works of Daniel Brinton and Jesse Walter Fewkes) was conducted under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology and

the Smithsonian Institution. Martha Beckwith undertook important studies of Caribbean folklore. In 1929, Beckwith published *Black Roadways: A Study of Jamaican Folk Life*, which includes an insightful analysis of Jamaican religions, as well as a sampling of Jamaican proverbs, children's games, and Christmas mumming. Harold Courlander is by far the most influential Caribbean folklorist. Courlander conducted fieldwork both in Haiti and the Dominican Republic. His best-known work is *The Drum and the Hoe: Life and Lore of the Haitian People* (1960).

Twentieth-century ethnographic accounts examined local practices and isolated communities (e.g., the Herskovitses' fieldwork in the remote village of Toco, Trinidad). A number of highly sensationalized accounts of Haitian vodou and "black magic" were published (notably Seabrook, 1929), as well as numerous accounts of witchcraft and Obeah in the West Indies (Williams, 1932). Scholarly expositions on Haitian religions include the works of Alfred Métraux, Melville J. Herskovits, Maya Deren, and James Leyburn.

The juxtaposition of sensationalized and scholarly accounts continued in the work of Wade Davis, whose best-selling book *The Serpent and the Rainbow* served as the basis for a sensationalized movie, but who also published a number of first-rate ethnographic analyses of Haitian vodou. Davis's major contribution was in pointing out possible ethnobotanical and neurophysiological bases for widespread Haitian beliefs concerning zombies.

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, AND THE QUEST FOR "AFRICANISMS" IN THE NEW WORLD. In the mid-twentieth century, scholars began to seek connections between African and New World religions. A lively debate ensued between Melville J. Herskovits, who believed that African elements had survived the rigors of slavery and could easily be discerned in the New World, and E. Franklin Frazier (1964), who contended that slavery had been so disruptive of African cultural patterns that few African retentions could be identified in the New World. It is significant that Herskovits and his students (notably William Bascom) began their ethnographic fieldwork in Africa and ended up researching the Americas. George Eaton Simpson was one of Herskovits's most loyal disciples. Elsewhere in the United States, advocates of "Pan-Africanism" like W. E. B. Du Bois did not consider Caribbean religion to be an appropriate focus (Zuckerman, 2000). Du Bois seems to have paid little attention to African-derived religions outside of the United States.

European approaches to African-derived religions evidence a slightly different focus than that of Herskovits. Europeans charted the influence of African religions on New World religions as part of an abstract, global process—what Roger Bastide termed "the interpenetration of civilizations."

The twentieth century also saw a number of locally-based ethnographies dealing with specific religions on specific islands: Santería in Cuba (Lydia Cabrera, Fernando Ortiz, George Brandon, Joseph M. Murphy), Rastafarianism in Jamaica (Rex Nettleford, Leonard Barrett, Barry Chevannes), and the Spiritual Baptists in Trinidad and Grenada (George Eaton Simpson, Stephen D. Glazier, Kenneth Lum, and Wallace Zane). These accounts include much information about religious organization, rituals, beliefs, and music. Of special note is the attempt by Sidney Mintz and Richard Price (1992) to come to terms with processes of syncretism with reference to African-American religious history.

While the bulk of these locally-based studies dealt with African-derived religions, a small number of twentieth-century ethnographies addressed the growing presence of Asian religions in the Caribbean. Most notable among these are Steven Vertovec's *Hindu Trinidad* (1992), Morton Klass's *Singing with Sai Baba* (1996), and Aisha Khan's *Callaloo Nation* (2004). There is still need for more studies of local variants of world religions like Islam, Buddhism, Bahāʾī, Mormonism, the Unification Church, and so on, as well as the impact of these religions on particular Caribbean islands.

The complex relationships between religions in Africa and African religions in the New World are replete with examples of what Pierre Verger termed "flux and reflux" (1968, p. 31). Building on a lifetime of fieldwork and archival research, Verger documented extensive and continuous contact between religious specialists in Africa and religious organizations in the New World. He painstakingly demonstrated that the slave trade was not only *of* Africans (i.e., the trade itself), but *by* Africans as well. Africans and African Americans were producers and traders as well as laborers in the plantation system, and they played an active role—not just a passive one—in the ongoing drama of slavery. The quest for Africa in the New World continues, but with new and refined sensibilities. The question is no longer *whether*, but how much?

As Stuart Hall—commenting on the *Présence Africaine* in his native Jamaica—noted:

> Africa was, in fact, present everywhere, in the everyday life and customs of the slave quarters, in the language and patois of the plantations, in names and words; often disconnected from their taxonomies, in the secret syntactical structure through which other languages were spoken, in the stories and tales told to children, in religious practices and belief in the spiritual life, the arts, crafts, music and rhythms of slave and post-emancipation society. . . . Africa remained and remains the unspoken, unspeakable "presence" in Caribbean culture. It is "hiding" behind every verbal inflection, every narrative twist of Caribbean cultural life. (1990, p. 228)

SYNCRETISM. In the 1950s and 1960s, much research on Caribbean religions addressed the concept of syncretism first introduced to anthropology by Melville Herskovits in 1938. Syncretism is defined as an attempt to merge religious traditions and establish analogies between originally discrete reli-

gious and mythological traditions. At various times and places, religions have embraced syncretism, while at other times, these same religions have rejected the practice as lacking in "authenticity" (Glazier, 1996). Syncretism has sometimes been seen as a devaluation of real, salient religious distinctions.

A number of conceptual shortcomings have been identified in Herskovits's original formulation (Greenfield and Droogers, 2002). Nevertheless, most contemporary anthropologists agree that it may be more valid to look at syncretism in terms of power relations. With respect to Caribbean religions, it may be more useful to examine syncretism from the perspectives of those who do the "syncretizing." When seen from the perspectives of "syncretizers," syncretism appears as a series of individual acts rather than as an abstract and impersonal process.

Central to this discussion is the perceived relationship between African-derived religions and Roman Catholicism. Earlier, it was suggested that Catholic elements within African-derived religions like *orișa* and vodun were brought in to mask or hide African forms of worship under the "cloak" of Christianity. This explanation is not altogether satisfactory. As David Trotman (1976) astutely observed, if early followers of the *orișa* wanted to "disguise" their religion by incorporating elements of Roman Catholicism, it would not have been a very good disguise because no one could have confused African and Catholic rituals. Trotman also correctly contended that if devotees identified Catholic saints and Yorùbá deities attempting to "disguise" the latter, any saint would have provided an equally good "disguise." But such was never the case. Only *some* saints became identified with a limited number of *orișas*, and many Catholic saints were neglected altogether. Ultimately, Trotman concluded that it is most likely that African-derived religions and the veneration of the Catholic saints evolved together.

No one suggests that syncretism does not exist in Caribbean religions. Obviously, cultures that come into contact influence one another. But the term *syncretism*—as it has been applied to Afro-Caribbean religions—assumes too much passivity on the part of slave populations. As Morton Klass opined, "in a universe where gods can do anything, theological studies are manifestly more important and interesting than the study of history, biology, geology, and astronomy put together. It follows that if a god is alleged to create the entire universe in the blink of an eye and knows all that has happened, is happening, and will happen—any inkling of that god's plans, whims, or preferences are of the utmost concern to humans" (1991, p. 32). Caribbean slaves had more than a passing interest in the religion of their masters. They had an urgent need to incorporate European gods (and the powers of those gods) into their own lives. This urgent need, too, is perhaps at the root of perceived correspondences between African deities and Catholic saints.

VODOU: A HISTORY OF STUDY. Few Caribbean religions have captured the scholarly and media attention that has been devoted to Haitian vodou. From the sixteenth century onward, almost every visitor to Haiti has commented on the religion. It became the focus of both popular and scholarly attention and the subject of countless books and articles.

As noted previously, Moreau de Saint-Méry (1797) was among the first to provide a description of vodou ceremonies. He was also the first person to use of the term *vaudoux* with reference to Haitian religion. Moreau writes of a dance led by a group of slaves from the West African town of Arada. According to Moreau, *vaudoux* is a kind of "serpent" possessing oracular powers, who communicates through the medium of a priest or priestess. Moreau correctly interpreted the ceremony as both a deity and a dance, and noted that it is only through the movement of the dance that the spirits *(lwa)* were able to be fully present to the congregation.

Of mid-twentieth-century researchers, Maya Deren (1953) was perhaps the most sensitive to the workings of the spirit. In the eighteenth century, Moreau had recognized *vaudoux*'s political potential, a theme that has dominated twentieth-century studies of vodou (Laguerre, 1989). The later part of the twentieth century saw greater attention paid to community studies (Herskovits, 1937; Métraux, 1959), to vodou as a belief system (Hurbon, 1995; McAlister, 2002), historical-literary studies (Dayan, 1995), and the complex relationship between vodou and the Roman Catholic Church (Desmangles, 1993). Leslie Desmangles's work identifying patterns of symbiosis and juxtaposition in Haitian vodou contrasts markedly with the earlier scholarship of Roger Bastide, George Eaton Simpson, and Melville Herskovits. What makes Desmangles's research unique is his careful attention to the tremendous variety of religious forms and influences within African and African-American religions. Drawing on firsthand research in Haiti and the Republic of Benin, he underscores vodou's continuities and discontinuities with its African past.

RASTAFARI: A HISTORY OF STUDY. As religions change, research methodologies also change. Since the 1980s Rastafarianism has experienced the most dramatic changes of any Caribbean religion. Many people throughout the world became familiar with Rastafari when reggae performers, most notably Bob Marley, started to bring its message to an international audience in the 1970s. Rastafari is an example of a religious movement that has spread globally through the medium of popular culture (Yawney and Homiak, 2001, p. 266). While remaining true to its central tenants (as outlined over forty years ago by George Eaton Simpson), Rastafari claims adherents from all over the world. Following the approach of Kamari Clarke (2004), it may be useful to begin thinking of Rastafari as a vast "network" stretching from "Trench Town" in Jamaica to Africa to Europe to North America to Japan to the Pacific Islands to New Zealand.

When Roy Augier, M. G. Smith, and Rex Nettleford began researching Rastafarianism in the 1960s the movement was little more than a loosely organized federation of homeless men hanging out in the slums of Kingston. There

were few established norms and Rasta theology was—as it still is—in the process of being "worked out." Augier, Smith, and Nettleford conducted their inquiry in response to police concerns about vagrant men who, it was feared, might be involved in criminal activities. Later researchers like Simpson and Barrett also adopted a local (Kingston-based) perspective. Rastafarianism was thus examined first as a local problem, later as a local religion, then as a regional religious movement, but not until the end of the twentieth century was it recognized as a worldwide religious and political movement.

Twenty-first-century researchers have had to adopt what Carole Yawney and John P. Homiak call a "reticulate research model" that allows for both multiple centers and diverse channels of diffusion. Yawney's research, for example, has followed the religion from Jamaica to South Africa to Canada and back again.

Sex Roles and Altered States of Consciousness. In 1963, Vittorio Lanternari published a seminal study relating spirit possession, so-called ecstatic religion, and social structure. While not dealing exclusively with the Caribbean, Lanternari's *Religions of the Oppressed* inspired further studies, most notably I. M. Lewis's *Ecstatic Religion* (1971) and a large-scale cross-cultural study of spirit possession and trance states directed by Erika Bourguignon, an anthropologist who did her dissertation fieldwork in Haiti under Melville Herskovits. Bourguignon was able to secure funding to send a number of graduate students to the Caribbean and Mexico to study spirit possession and altered states of consciousness.

A major focus of late twentieth-century research has been the changing roles of women in Afro-Caribbean religions. This is especially true with respect to the Trinidad *orișa* movement. Female leaders (*iya*) have always existed within the movement. Earlier researchers—who were predominantly male—did not seek them out. Today, a majority of the Trinidadian leadership is female. Rawle Gibbons (1999, p. 196) estimates that women own over 50 percent of *orișa* shrines.

The status of women in Afro-Caribbean religions is changing rapidly. In exploring gender roles, it is important to keep in mind the contributions of John K. Thornton, J. Lorand Matory, and Ruth Landes. Thornton, in *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641–1718* (1983), underscores the changing nature of African politics and religion at the height of the slave trade. It has been common for scholars to focus on syncretism in the formation of New World societies but to lose sight of the fact that such syncretisms and a great deal of religious change was going on in Africa at the same time. Many of the same forces that led to the formation and expansion of vodou in Haiti were also at work in the Kongo. In *Sex and the Empire that Is No More* (1994), Matory takes this argument one step further. Matory not only underscores syncretic and innovative aspects of Ọ̀yọ́ religion, he also emphasizes the general malleability of sex roles and religious leadership in African society and religion.

Ruth Landes's *The City of Women* (1947)—based on fieldwork conducted in northern Brazil during the late 1930s—challenged prevailing notions of Afro-Brazilian religious leadership, as well as shedding light on the roles of women in these organizations. Her work was first published in 1947. Both the work and its author were largely ignored and never entered into the mainstream of Afro-Brazilian studies then dominated by Herskovits, Verger, and Bastide. Some critiques of Landes's book took the form of personal attack. She was accused of going to Bahia primarily to have sex with the natives. The charges against her were unfounded since the focus of her research was on celibate, female religious orders. Treatment of Landes's work has been redressed, at least in part, by the 1994 reissue of *The City of Women* by the University of New Mexico Press, with a new introduction that gives a history of the anthropological reception to the work. In 1947, Landes established once and for all the malleability of sex roles and leadership in Afro-Brazilian religious organizations, and, by implication, in Caribbean religions as well. But it has taken scholars fifty years to recognize her role.

Malleability of sex roles is apparent in New World religions like Ṣango. In Cuba, and now in Trinidad, Ṣango has become increasingly identified with Santa Barbara. In attempting to account for Ṣango's identification with Santa Barbara, Ṣango leaders (both male and female) emphasize that *orișas* are not limited by human categories and attributes. All *orișas* have the potential to be male and female, black and white, and young and old. In Trinidad, for example, Ṣango is often depicted as a mulatto. Trinidadian followers of Ṣango—like Ṣango devotees in Cuba (Bascom, 1972, p. 14)—argue that Ṣango may wear the clothes of a woman, but he is the epitome of maleness because of his many wives and love affairs. It is emphasized that Ṣango has many names because he used different names as he went from town to town seeking out amorous adventures. Bourguignon suggests that Herskovits did not foreground transvestitism and homosexuality in his depictions of African and African-American rituals because he believed it would be detrimental to the cause of blacks in the United States.

Landes concluded *The City of Women* by noting that women occupy dominant positions within supposedly patriarchal structures. Her findings for Bahia indicate that surface male authority hid real female authority. But it is not an either/or situation. Males and females have different conceptions of power and authority. A real question is whether or not scholars have grasped the true nature of female religious authority in the Caribbean. Women constitute the overwhelming majority of adherents in all of these faiths. The anthropological literature characterizes these religions—following Lanternari and Lewis—as "peripheral" cults. But what is meant by "peripheral"? Are these religions considered "peripheral" because they are predominantly composed of females (which is Lanternari's assertion), or are females attracted to these religions because women see them as "peripheral"

(which is Lewis's argument)? The relationship between gender, power, and authority is always complex. Lewis's original research on spirit possession and gender wars in Somalia concluded that spirit possession provides a mechanism by which the weak can appropriate symbols of power. But as Bourguignon has pointed out, Lewis's theory is predicated on a shared understanding and acceptance of how the world works.

Unlike many issues in the academic study of religion, debates about gender and authority can be resolved empirically, with attention to denominational structures and the place of women within these structures. For over twenty years, Stephen D. Glazier has examined the position of women among Trinidad's Ṣango Baptists. The results are clear. Women constitute the overwhelming majority of participants in all Ṣango Baptist rituals, and women own the vast majority of Ṣango Baptist religious structures (Baptist churches, *palais,* and *chapelles*). How could this not affect the status of Ṣango Baptist women? It should be emphasized that while women may own the buildings outright, they do not always own the land upon which these structures rest. But even if we do not count cases where men actually own the land, women still own over 58 percent of the buildings (twenty-eight out of forty-six in Glazier's 1999 sample of Ṣango structures in Trinidad), and they sponsor over half the feasts.

Previous generations of researchers looked for male dominance within Ṣango Baptist organizations, and they found it. The trappings are there. Almost all paramount leaders and bishops are male. Only males are allowed to perform the sacraments; only males are allowed to preach from a raised pulpit in the front of the church; only males are allowed to "line-out" hymns and direct readings from the Bible; and only males can initiate prayer. In a number of Ṣango Baptist churches, participants are segregated according to sex (males sit on the right, females sit on the left). On the other hand, males are usually *invited* (by females) to officiate at religious ceremonies. The do not own the churches. They are guests. And if the predominantly female congregation is not pleased, they will not be invited back—suggesting that power relations between males and females are not always as they at first appear.

Oral Tradition and the Internet. Throughout the twentieth century, African languages constituted a major barrier for some researchers and some informants. Many of the difficulties that George Eaton Simpson encountered while compiling a list of *orişa* in Trinidad were a result of his lack of familiarity with the Yorùbá language. In reproducing a list of *orişas*, for example, Simpson names Adoweh, Ahmeeoh, Aireeahsan, and Aireelay (1980, p. 17). He cautions the reader that he is unsure if these names represent a single *orişa* or four separate *orişas*. Only recently (Warner-Lewis, 1996) have scholars begun to utilize linguistic analyses to document the religious significance of Yorùbá retentions in the Caribbean.

There are also issues surrounding oral transmission. At the time Herskovits, Bascom, Simpson, and Frances Henry conducted their research, most religious knowledge was transmitted orally. Past generations of *orişa* leaders in Trinidad (e.g., Fitzroy Small and King Ford) knew little Yorùbá aside from the opening songs they had learned by rote. This contrasts with contemporary *orişa* leaders—like Rawle Gibbons and Patricia McLeod (Iya Ṣango Wumi)—who have formally studied Yorùbá.

As Manfred Kremser (2001, pp. 111–114) points out in his discussion of African-derived religions in cyberspace, new technologies have transformed Caribbean worldviews and ritual systems into new forms of world culture. This, too, raises issues of authority and legitimacy as greater numbers of non-black, non-Caribbean people are identifying with African-derived religions like Santería, vodun, or the *orişa* movement. Aboriginal religions have also secured a presence on the web. The Santa Rosa Carib community of Trinidad, for example, maintains an elaborate website with New Zealand anthropologist Maximilian Forte as their webmaster. What happens when religious traditions that have been transmitted orally from person-to-person become instantly accessible via the internet?

Centralization and "Authority" in the Trinidad *Orişa* Movement. Some contemporary followers of the *orişa* have expressed a desire to "liberate" the *orişa* from Catholicism and to reassert what they see as its fundamental Yorùbá elements. They seek to emphasize Yorùbá elements at shrines and expunge Catholic ones. Such attempts on the part of African-American religious leaders have met with varying degrees of success elsewhere in the New World.

Funso Aiyejina and Rawle Gibbons underscore a major difference between *orişa* ceremonies held in Africa and *orişa* ceremonies held in the New World: "Among the Yoruba of Nigeria, each individual/family/community is associated with a particular *orişa*. In Trinidad, all or as many of the *orişa* as possible are represented in the yard" (1999, p. 195). Aiyejina and Gibbons interpret this as the "unification of Orisa under one roof." This may be an oversimplification, but it is nonetheless an important distinction. *Orişa* feasts in the Caribbean tend to be inclusive rather than exclusive. One of the more dramatic expressions of inclusiveness is to be found in the Nation Dance—one of the most studied of Caribbean rituals (see McDaniel, 1998).

Frances Henry, who has conducted research on Ṣango for nearly fifty years, concluded her entry to *The Encyclopedia of African and African American Religions* (2001, pp. 256–258) by noting that contemporary leaders in the *orişa* movement are attempting to create centralized structures along denominational lines (e.g., to establish an "Orişa Council of Elders"). Adherents want the *orişa* movement to be recognized as a "legitimate" religion by the Trinidadian government so that their *iya* and *mongba* can officiate at weddings and funerals.

Henry (2003, pp. 108–136) also documented a concerted effort to "Africanize" *orișa* rituals. While scholarly debates surrounding the origins and authenticity of New World African ritual are far from new (Glazier, 1996, pp. 420–421), current debates are more significant because the major participants are themselves members of the religions in question. This establishes a different tone to the debate, and there is greater perceived urgency. A major change is that the forum of debate has shifted. Debate is no longer carried out exclusively within the domain of books, conferences, and paper presentations. It occurs in heated arguments taking place within the context of worship itself.

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STEPHEN D. GLAZIER (2005)

CHING, JULIA (1934–2001), a scholar of comparative religion, was one of the major contributors in the last three decades of the twentieth century to the Western world's understanding of Chinese religions, especially Confucianism, and their dialogue with Christianity.

Julia Ching was born on October 15, 1934, in Shanghai, and completed her high school education in Hong Kong before she studied at the College of New Rochelle in New York, majoring in history, philosophy, and theology. She completed a master's degree in European History at the Catholic University of America in Washington, D.C. Ching's intellectual curiosity and spiritual openness led her to a progressively deeper knowledge of Western culture and Christianity, culminating in her service as an Ursuline nun for two decades.

In 1971, Ching obtained her Ph.D. degree in Asian studies at the Australian National University in Canberra with a thesis later published in 1976 as *To Acquire Wisdom: The Way of Wang Yang-ming*. She started her academic career first as a lecturer at Australian National University (1969–1974), then as visiting associate professor at Columbia University (1974–1975), and later as associate professor of philosophy at Yale University (1975–1979). Finally she moved to the University of Toronto (1978–2000), first as visiting associate professor in 1978. Ching was tenured in 1979 and promoted to a professorship in 1981 in the Department of Religion; she was cross-appointed to the Department of East Asian Studies in 1979 and the Department of Philosophy in 1990. For her eminent scholarly achievement, she was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1990, named University Professor of the University of Toronto in 1994, selected to be the inaugural holder of the R. C. and E. Y. Lee Chair of Chinese Thought and Culture at the University of Toronto in 1998, and finally named a member of the Order of Canada in July 2000. She died on October 26, 2001, in Toronto, after a long battle with cancer.

Through her intellectual work Ching attempted to bridge China and the West on the level of philosophy and religion by her unceasing quest of wisdom. For her, when interpreting Wang Yangming, wisdom is,

> the harmony and purity of the mind-and-heart, perfect in its spontaneity, true to its pristine nature. Wisdom is also the proven ability of dealing with a variety of human situations according to an inborn moral intuition, developed and realized to its fullest by earnest self-cultivation, unchanging in its constant attachment to goodness and virtue, and yet flexible in its judgment of variables and in its freedom of decision. (1976, p. 73)

More effort was made by Ching to launch scholarly religious dialogue between representatives of Chinese religions and

Christianity. Her *Confucianism and Christianity: A Comparative Study* (1977) is a great contribution to the dialogue between Confucianism and Christianity. *Christianity and Chinese Religion* (1989), a major work she coauthored with Hans Küng, provided some fundamental perspectives for the dialogue of the three major Chinese religions—Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism—with Christianity. For her, these traditions challenge all of us to redefine "religion," not only as something related to God, but also and especially "as a striving for self-transcendence that remains open to Heaven, to the Great Ultimate, to the True Self and to the Pure Land" (1989, p. 229).

Apart from these scholarly works in religious dialogue, Ching was an expert in Confucianism, especially neo-Confucianism. She began by studying Wang Yangming (1472–1529), a neo-Confucian of idealist orientation in the Ming dynasty. She edited with her own major contribution the English translation of the *Records of Ming Scholars* by Huang Zongxi (1610–1695). In 2000, she published *The Religious Thought of Chu Hsi*, focusing on the great neo-Confucian of realist orientation in the Song dynasty, Zhu Xi (1130–1200). This book was her last major work, and it gave an excellent interpretation and reconstruction of the religious thought of Zhu Xi, focusing on issues such as the Great Ultimate, spiritual beings, rituals, personal cultivation, and Zhu Xi's relation with Daoism and Buddhism.

Instead of clinging to either the idealist or the realist neo-Confucianists, Ching made an effort to draw out the best of their wisdom. She paid special attention to the religious dimension of human experience, though she always equilibrated it with humanistic philosophical reflections. She had a humanist concern for religion, with a hope that the human person could transcend himself or herself up to a better world by self-cultivation, a holistic world vision, and good governance.

The "sage" was one of her focuses in studying Chinese religions. In *Mysticism and Kingship in China* (1997), she mediated religion, philosophy, and politics by working on the myth of the sage and its relation to kingship in China. She examined shamanic kingship and kingship as cosmic paradigm, and the sage both as moral teacher and as metaphysician. The idea of the sage-king had deeply influenced not only Chinese political philosophy but also self-cultivation and family life. She explored all these with a sense of critique, showing that the idea of the sage had, like benevolent despotism in the West, hindered the development of democracy in China, which was also one of her major concerns. Nevertheless, the "sage" is, more essential for her, an invitation to find our own identity "in a continuous effort of self-transcendence."

Approaching the end of her life, Ching showed in her autobiography *The Butterfly Healing* (1998) a comprehensive and altruistic understanding of wisdom, in saying that, "Meaning is also called wisdom, even compassion—loving others as we do ourselves, or at least trying to do so. Call it Buddhism, Taoism, or Christianity. The labels don't matter. Meaning is found in living and loving, in giving and receiving, and hopefully, also in dying when the time comes" (p. 218).

SEE ALSO Chinese Religion, overview article; Confucianism, article on History of Study; Zhu Xi.

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VINCENT SHEN (2005)

DIVINATION: IFA DIVINATION

The Yorùbá people of southwestern Nigeria possess a highly complex divination system called *Ifa*. Ifa is a central feature of Yorùbá religion, culture, and society, and it constitutes a main source for their knowledge, cosmology, and belief system. Ifa refers to both the divination practice and the Yorùbá god of divination, also called Ọrunmila. Ifa divination is also practiced among other West African peoples, especially the Fon people of the Republic of Benin. Divination is a ritual performance in which the priest-diviner, the clients, and the social and cosmological order of the Yorùbá people interact to produce meaningful results to a client's quest and purpose for consultation. Consultation takes place when a client inquires of the supernatural order concerning problems or issues that are not quite clear to the client. Typically, clients inquire about illness, auspicious marriages, a planned journey, or choice of the succeeding king. No dilemma or issue is too small or complex in traditional Yorùbá society to lend itself to consulting Ifa. The rationale for such depth of trust and promise is based in Yorùbá cosmology and moral order, which entrusted the Ifa deity with the knowledge of all that exists in the universe. Ifa is personified as the all-knowing historian, storyteller, and intermediary between the gods and the people. Ifa represents the people's intellectual deity and the public relations officer of the Yorùbá pantheon.

Furthermore, Ifa's role and function as an omnipotent healer in Yorùbá society is highly esteemed. Through the agency of Ifa, healing takes place when a diviner successfully diagnoses the source of a client's illness, and prescribes and carries out the appropriate sacrifice. The Ifa divination process begins when a client consults a diviner, and the diviner casts the divining chain (*opele*) on the divining mat or uses a set of sixteen palm nuts to arrive at a solution. The result of divination is referred to as the Signature or Signs of Ifa, which in principle may be one of 256 possible signs, forming a double tetragram produced by manipulating the sixteen palm nuts of the divining chain. With his finger, the diviner traces the Signs of Ifa, now discernible in the yellow divining powder (*iyerosun*) sprinkled over the surface of the divining tray (*opon Ifá*). Thus, the diviner pronounces the results, and chanting, he recites the message of the Signature of the Ifa deity who appears in the process. The diviner explains the message to the client, prescribing appropriate sacrifices to be carried out. During long and intensive periods of apprenticeship, which may take from fifteen to thirty years or more, the priest-diviners memorize a comprehensive repertoire of complex Ifa verses.

Scholarly study of Ifa divination began with William Bascom when he carried out his fieldwork on Yorùbá social organization in Ile-Ifẹ, Nigeria, and other parts of Yorùbáland between 1936 and 1938. He began publishing his research, with his major works *Ifa Divination: Communication between Gods and Men in West Africa* (1969) and *Sixteen Cowries: Yorùbá Divination from Africa to the New World* (1980). Other scholarly works also appeared, such as Wande Abimbola's *Ifá: An Exposition of Ifá Literary Corpus* (1976) and *Ifá Divination Poetry* (1977). Abimbola, more than anyone else, gave Ifa divination the prestige it enjoys in the academic world today.

Today a large body of timeless Ifa poetry—safeguarded remarkably only in the memory of individual oral historians—has been collected, transcribed, and translated into English and French. Stored in these principal oral texts, the verses are now used as sources for exploring the moral order and ritual practices of the Yorùbá people. Representing a significant genre of oral traditions as far back as ancient times, Ifa verses represent compilations of myths, legends, proverbs, songs, and praise poetry. They signify numerous themes, events, occasions, and places in Yorùbá culture and history, such as mythic and historical characters, migration stories, and biographies of cultural heroes, ancestors, animals, and such natural phenomena as trees, groves, and rivers. They also refer to ethical and aesthetic ideas, philosophy, and metaphors, and to sacred journeys carried out by famous ancient diviners. The Yorùbá themselves regard the Ifa verses as their primary source of instructions for daily life. The verses constitute the Yorùbá encyclopedia of knowledge through the interpretation of these texts, and scholars are now examining many deep-seated values and concerns in Yorùbá culture and society.

A number of interpretive works have emerged reflecting on various aspects of Ifa indigenous knowledge and Yorùbá theory of knowledge in the Ifa divination texts. Among them are Philip Peek's edited volume, *African Divination Systems* (1991), and J. O. Sodipe and Barry Hallen's *Knowledge, Belief, and Witchcraft* (1986). As comprehensive collections and interpretations of Ifa verses, these works enable us to have a better understanding of Yorùbá systems of thought and culture. We are able to interpret Yorùbá-derived religions in the Americas, called Santería (Afro-Cuban), Candomblé (Afro-Brazilian), and Vodou (Afro-Haitian)—all of which are making significant inroads in the United States.

In the United States, there is a remarkable renaissance of Yorùbá religion, especially in major urban centers. Though often classified and labeled as a popular religion, American adherents often refer to the Yorùbá tradition as *Orișa* tradition, as it is becoming an alternative religious and devotional system for African Americans, Latinos, and some European Americans. The Ifa divination system is the central focus of these traditions. *Orișa* devotees are eager to acquire Ifa divination texts for devotional practices and religious education.

A case in point was Jacob Olupona's encounter with devotees of the *Orișa* Yorùbá tradition. In April 1994, at the invitation of the Phoebe Hearst Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, he gave a seminar titled "Ifa: Owner of the Day and Regulator of the Universe." After this presentation, he was besieged by many *Orișa* devotees who had come from as far as Oakland, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. They wanted to know where

they could obtain access to Ifa divination texts. His response then was that he was mainly interested in the scholarly study of Ifa divination analysis.

Early in the twenty-first century, increasing numbers of *Orișa* devotees in the United States express great demands for Ifa divination texts. Popular demand for Ifa materials is indicated by the very large number of internet websites appearing on Ifa. Yorùbá religion is in the process of achieving the status of a global religion, undergoing similar transformations that the scriptural traditions of Hinduism and Buddhism went through before they reached their present "canonical" status. That is, they existed first primarily as oral texts, and subsequently were written down to assist the Yorùbá in the diaspora who are cut off from the home and source of the tradition.

The iconography of Ifa divination is the subject of investigation by art historians Rowland Abiodun, John Pemberton, and Henry Drewal—to mention just a few. Not only are Ifa divination objects used as instruments of divination, but they also are regarded as objects of aesthetic and metaphysical value. In Ifa oral poetry, the fly-whisk, the divination tray, and the diviner's satchel are also interpreted as ornamental objects, bestowing honor and prestige on Ifa and on Ifa diviners, who are members of an elite class in traditional Yorùbá societies.

Rowland Abiodun (1975) and others have elaborated on the artistic use of Ifa paraphernalia and divining objects. The most important are the *opon Ifá* (divination tray), the *iroke* (fly-whisk), the *opa Osun* (the diviner's iron working stick), and the *apo Ifá* (diviner's bag), without which proper divination cannot take place. A cursory look at these religious and art objects reveals that most of them are expressed in the female form, described as the "wives" of Ifa. Numerous Yorùbá oral traditions show the symbolic and cultural contexts in which Ifa objects are portrayed as female, rather than male, clearly indicating the significance of gendered meaning of Ifa objects in Ifa divination theory and practice.

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JACOB OLUPONA (2005)

FICTION: SOUTH ASIAN FICTION AND RELIGION

The various literary forms in which narrative, plot-centered literature is found pose challenges to any attempt to delineate the domain of what could be called South Asian "fiction" (see Preminger and Brogan, 1993). Whereas dramatic texts in South Asian literature are easily distinguishable from narrative ones through the orchestration of direct speech and their performance, the boundaries between texts such as sermons and narrative literature on the one hand, and poetry and narrative literature on the other, are much more difficult to draw. In fact, storytelling from the Vedic hymns to the epic *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, the mainly theistic and proto-historical Purāṇas and chronicles *(vaṃśa),* and the hagiographies of medieval devotional literature have been generally recorded in metric poetry. Early South Asian prose is primarily used in doctrinal contexts, such as the Upaniṣads, the Brāhmaṇas, the commentarial literature, and the Jaina and Buddhist sermons and birth stories *(jātaka),* as well as in the collections of didactic fables, *Pañcatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*.

The spread of birth stories and didactic literature in South Asia around the beginning of the Common Era was an important step in creating new literary forms and in canonizing so-called folk narrative material, which had not found its way into the epics or the Purāṇas. All these forms of narrative, both in meter and in prose, betray their oral roots not so much because they are older than writing in South Asia, but because the constitution and the tradition of the texts can largely be explained by their continued oral performance. The single work with possibly the greatest influence on South Asian fictional literature is Guṇāḍhya's third-century Śaivite collection of stories, the monumental *Bṛhatkathā* (Great tale), said to have been composed in a Prakrit called Paiśācī, probably in Eastern India, and lost but partly translated and conserved in Sanskrit and several other regional languages. Its extant successors are Somadeva's tenth-century Kaśmīri work *Kathāsaritsāgara*

(The ocean of story), as well as Śivadāsa's tenth-century *Vetālapañcaviṃsatikā* (The twenty-five tales of the demon), both collections of mainly satirical stories with a Śaivite-Tantric background and a strong anti-ascetic, particularly anti-Jaina, tendency.

The development of a court-centered written *kāvya* literature starting from the turn of the sixth to seventh centuries CE included the introduction of a new narrative literature in prose, termed *Kunstroman* by German-speaking Indologists (Winternitz, 1909–1920), which consists mostly of collections of picaresque tales framed by a meta-narrative. Examples of this again mainly Śaivite and anti-ascetic fiction are Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* (The deeds of the ten princes), Subandhu's *Vāsavadatta*, and Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (The deeds of Harṣa) and *Kādambarī*, all from the seventh century. The extensive Jaina narrative literature in both Middle Indic (Prakrit, Apabhrāṃśa) and Modern Indic languages, covering *Kunstroman*, didactic, and hagiographical literature intimately connected to the practice of preaching, constitutes the oldest unbroken tradition of prose storytelling in South Asia. However, it is hagiography that became the most widespread and influential narrative literary form between the twelfth and the eighteenth centuries, spanning confessional and regional boundaries.

Fiction in the modern sense of the word, which includes the forms of the novel, the novella, the short story, and the travelogue, to name the most important ones, is a modern addition to South Asian literatures. It was first formulated in the fully developed modern South Asian languages, such as Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, and Tamil, toward the middle of the nineteenth century. Those forms would open a new perception of history, sharpen the eye for social conditions, and help constitute bourgeois subjectivity. Regarding the novel *(nāvil),* attempts have been made to connect this form with the Sanskritic *Kunstroman* named *kādaṃbarī* after that very work; or with the term *upanyāsa* (literally, "laying down"), the mostly religious *kathā* (instructive tale); or generally with the expression *purāṇa* (literally, "old"; viz., "tale"). On the other hand, Perso-Arabic influence, especially from the corpus of tales of romance and adventure known to the West as the "Tales From One Thousand Nights and One Night" can be traced already in medieval Jaina literature. However, the influence of literature brought to South Asia through the colonial encounter and the associated ruptures and discontinuities are at least as momentous as the indigenous literature is basic to the development of modern South Asian fiction. It appears that traditional modes of narrating were crucial where European models, like the realist or the gothic novel, did not entirely fit the South Asia context.

HINDI FICTION. In prose, Hindi fiction has its immediate precursors in seventeenth-century sectarian, mainly Vallabhan, hagiographies and literary tales in the tradition of the *Hitopadeśa* in Brajbhāṣā, as well as Sikh chronicles in Khaṛī bolī, before which there is little use of prose at all. Interestingly, the first text apparently free of colonial influences and still classifiable as a novel in this literary tradition is *Rānī Ketakī kī Kahānī* (The story of Queen Ketakī, 1801) by Inshā'allāh Khān, a princely love story written in Khaṛī bolī, in which all conflicts are eventually solved by the appearance of the king of gods, Indra. At the beginning of Hindi fiction toward the end of the nineteenth century stands the conflict between traditionalists *(sanātanists)* and reformers (Ārya Samājīs). The first novel claimed for Hindi literature, Lāl Śrīnivās Dās's *Parīkṣāguru* (Training as a teacher, 1882), thematizes education and status within a colonial setting as a process of mirroring, assimilation, and transformation, thus subverting the identity of the *gurū* as the traditional institution for learning and spiritual development.

An important focus for translations from Sanskrit and Bengali, among others, as well as for experimental fiction, was the Benares-based literary circle of the publicist and playwright Bhāratendu Hariścandra, the so-called Father of Modern Hindi, whose pleas for Vaiṣṇavism as the unifying religion for all Hindus had a strong impact on the ways early Hindi fiction would deal with religion. Yet, while Devakīnandan Khatrī's early best-sellers, *Candrakāntā* (1891) and *Candrakāntā santati* (1905), which present Hindu Rajput heroes in tales of adventure similar to the Persian *dāstān*, owe their success to a very low ideological profile, Premcand's early stories, partly written in Urdu around 1907, stress the moral superiority of Hindu, particularly Rajput women, along the lines of Vivekananda's arguments about the religious mission of Indian spirituality. The instrumentalization of religious virtues for nationalism inaugurated an equivocation that had repercussions on the treatment of religion in fiction for generations to come.

Mohandas Gandhi's influence on Hindi fiction, starting from his return from South Africa, cannot be underestimated. The utopian community with strong traits of the Hindu ascetic community *(āśrama)* became a topos in Hindi fiction, as in Premcand's *Sevādadan* (The house of service, 1918), where the context of joint-family and caste remain paramount and non-Hindus are regarded as a danger to moral standards. In contrast, Jayśankar Prasād's strongly contested *Kankāl* (The skeleton, 1929) starkly describes the moral degradation of Hindu society as part of a cosmic process understood within a Śaivite theological framework. As the Gandhian model lost its political weight, the religious and social foundations of family and society were critically revisited. Premcand's famous *Godān* (The gift of the cow, 1936), the story of the ruin of a dutiful Indian peasant, is in part a criticism aimed at the unscrupulous *brahman* to whom the dying farmer gifts his cow without ever having owned it.

Kedārnāth Pāṇḍey (also known as Rāhul Sānkṛtāyan), who would later convert to Buddhism, presented a Marxist interpretation of history in his novels *Sinha Senāpati* and *Jay Yaudheya* (both 1946), in which "capitalist" Hindu kingdoms defeat the "communist" Buddhist societies and religion becomes a mere marker for conflicting economic ideol-

ogies. Postindependence fiction saw a decline in religious themes as the lines set out by Premcand's *Godān* were followed and Hindu writers claimed to write out of a secular commitment. However, the Muslim Rāhi Masūm Razā's *Ādhā gāv* (Half a village, 1966), an account of the decline of Muslim supremacy, partition, and land reform divided into ten chapters after the ten assemblies of mourning *(muḥarram)* for the Shīʿī ancestor Ḥusayn in remembrance of his martyrdom at Karbala, is a powerful historical novel that thematizes Muslim self-perception within a supposedly secular nation. Influenced by the cycle of novels by Upendranāth Aśk about the protagonist Centan, which range from the late 1940s to the early 1970s, the late 1960s and 1970s saw a focus on the difficulties of the individual in coming to terms with religion within disintegrating familial and social structures, as in Nareś Methā's *Nadī zaśasvī* (The river is famous, 1967) or Sureś Sinhā's novel set in Delhi, *Pattharo kā śahar* (City of stones, 1971). However, this period also produced a revival of religious biographies, of which Tulsīdās's *Mānas kā hans* (The swan of the holy lake, 1972) by Nāgārjun is only one example.

URDU FICTION. The nineteenth century sees the start of Urdu fiction with anecdotal literature *(nakl* or *latifeh)* that tells stories of Ṣūfī saints and other semilegendary figures for didactic purposes, a genre that remained dominant until the early twentieth century. The late nineteenth century saw the rise of a modernist Urdu fiction and the first novels, its main representative being Nazīr Ahmad's *Ibn-ul-Vaqt* (The son of the moment, 1888), which advocates the free practice of religion and criticizes "superstitions" and traditional expressions of irrationalism. The nineteenth century also saw the rise of a genre of historical novels created by ʿAbdul Halīm Sharar (*Malik-ul-ʾAzīz Varjana*, 1888) under the influence of Sir Walter Scott; these novels depicted historical heroes of the Islamic past. Religion acquired a new meaning in the context of the "two-nation theory," where Islam came to mark national identity. Qurratulain Hyder's pathbreaking novel *Āg ka Darya* (River of fire, 1959) is an example of how much of South Asian history can be absorbed into a predominantly Muslim narrative.

Postindependence Urdu fiction in India has focused increasingly on the problems and opportunities of multiple identities, as in Abdussamad's *A Strip of Land, Two Yards Long* (1997). However, it becomes more and more clear that it is not religiosity that lies at the heart of these texts, but political, economic, and social status, whereas religion becomes the setting within which stories of conflict and closure are narrated. Urdu fiction in Pakistan since independence has been dominated by the so-called Islamic novel *(islami nāvil)* in the tradition of Sharar, both immensely popular and patriotic, thus often associated with the official literary scene. On the other hand there are younger authors of fiction writing from within a Ṣūfī tradition who criticize forms of religion that quell dissent and foster passivity and complacency in matters of faith and society.

BENGALI FICTION. Bengali fiction dates back to the sixteenth-century *maṅgal kāvyas* with metrical narratives concerning local deities, including the triad of Candī, Manasa, and Dharma, as well as hagiographies of the Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* saint Caitanya. The beginnings of Bengali Islamic hagiographical fiction can be traced back to the same period with the *rasul carit* literature ("Deeds of the Prophet"), of which Syed Sultan's *Nābi Vaṃśa* is one important example. Modern Bengali prose narrative literature is to be understood within the context of the nineteenth-century Bengal Renaissance and its attempt to redefine religion as a major force in constituting Indian nationalism both as an agent of social reform and as directed against the colonizer. In Bankim Chattopadhyaya's novel *Ānanda maṭh* (Monastery of bliss, 1882) the revolt of a community of ascetics devoted to Kālī against the rule of the British is a barely disguised call for the retrieval of the empowering faith in the mother goddess *(vande mātaram)* lost in times of religious decadence and enslavement. In contrast, Rabindranath Tagore's depiction of religion in his fiction, *Gorā* (Horse, 1889) and *Ghare Bhine* (Home and world, 1892), mirrors the diverse and conflicting religious positions of his time, ranging from conservative Bengali Vaiṣṇavism to modernist utilitarian tendencies, rather than his own, which he saw represented in the universalist religiosity of the *bāuls*.

After Tagore, Bengali fiction witnessed the breakup of unifying religious visions and ambitions. In East Pakistan, Syed Walliullah's *Lāl salu* (Red shal tree, 1948) criticized the postindependence moves to exercise political control at the village level through the establishment of new religious shrines. Tasleema Nasreen's docu-novel *Lajjā* (Shame, 1993), a description of how Hindu identity is forced upon a non-Muslim middle-class family in Bangladesh as a consequence of the 1992 Indian anti-Muslim riots in Ayodhyā, is an example of the politicization of literature in a language that transcends the Hindu–Muslim divide. In contrast, besides developing a strong Marxist fiction with an antireligious bias, West Bengal literature produced Samares Baru's (Kalkut) *Amrit Kumbh* (Pot of nectar, 1960), an empathetic ethnographic novel in experimental prose on the forces of asceticism and community underlying the Kumbha Melā.

MODERN TAMIL FICTION. This form of South Asian fiction is said to begin with Veetanāyakam Piḷḷai's *Piratāpa Mutaliyār Carittiram* (The story of Piratāpa Mutaliyār, 1876), which is structured along the lines of the Sanskritic collection of stories within stories and deals with themes of socioreform, the importance of the mother, and the dangerous consequences of superstitious behavior within a plot dominated by romance. In his introduction Veetanāyakam Piḷḷai refers to paper in contrast to palm leaves as an opportunity for writing narratives that are long and in prose, qualities that he attributes to modern fiction. P. R. Rājam Aiyar's novel *Āpattukkiṭamāṉa apavātam, allatu Kamalāmpāl carittiram* (Kamalambal, or the fatal rumor, 1893–1895) introduces Balzacian realism in dealing with religious themes, avoiding the fantastic and accurately portraying South Indi-

an *brahman* home life while the main intention of the story is the popularizing of neo-Vedāntic ideas. The main source for conflict is slander and the transfer of social responsibilities to supernatural forces. Whereas both Piḷḷai's and Rājam Aiyar's works focus more on the problematic consequences of wrong religious practice, A. Māravaiyā's pathbreaking *Muttu Mīnākṣī* (1903), in which a *brahman* girl endures hardship, including widowhood, until her childhood friend shows her that there is scriptural sanction for remarrying, argues in favor of taking into account alternative voices of tradition within a modernizing setup.

Communism plays a major role in the assessment of religion in modern Tamil fiction and has influenced the work of the most influential Tamil prose writer, Taṇṭapāṇi Jeyakāntan. His psychoanalytically informed shorter prose deals repeatedly with the creation of sacrality by the interplay of social circumstances and the human need for deification, as in "Turkkai" (Durga, 1962), where a irresponsible husband projects the image of the fierce goddess onto his reproachful wife, accusing her of a death that occurred close to the deity's village shrine, or in "Apayam" (Danger, 1965), where a boy, believed to have drowned, is turned into a god, and again in "Kurupiṭam" (The guru's seat, 1971), where a beggar turns into a holy man identified with Murukan through a young man's worship. One of his later novels, *Jaya jaya cankara. . .* (Hail, hail Śankara. . . , 1977), presents a social utopia based on the life of the Śankarācārya of Kānci Kāmakoṭipīṭam, who tells the story of Ādiśankara to inspire devotion among a group of protagonists said to be suffering from rationalism and atheism; this novel promotes Gandhian ideas of equality by using narrative structures taken from classical hagiography. The urban fiction of Putumaipittan (also known as Viruttācalam) from the 1960s, consisting mainly of short stories collected in *Kācumalai* (Coin-necklace, 1971), continues the tradition of depicting a modernizing religion, stressing the tension between woman and man, the rural and the urban. A feminist stance toward religion is taken by Ambai in her collection of short stories from the 1960s, *Viṭṭiṉ mūlayil oral camaiyalaṟai* (The shop at the corner of the house, 1967). The loss of traditional religious life among lower middle-class *brahmans* is depicted in Ashokamittiran's novel *Padinattavadu atchakodu* (The eighteenth parallel, 1977). The 1990s saw the emergence of a Tamil *dalit* fiction that is not confined by the early anti-brahmanical thrust, but broadens its scope, one representative being Perumāl Murugan's *Koolla Madari* (Seasons of the palm, 1990).

South Asian Fiction in English. Finally, since the second half of the twentieth century, South Asian fiction in English has grown to become an important literature for the South Asian middle class, as well as for a global English-speaking public. R. K. Narayan's *The Guide* (1958), where a young man is granted the status of sainthood, is a gentle satire on the inescapable burden of "gurudom." Salman Rushdie's interlinked tales of the Prophet and two South Asian aliens in the United Kingdom, *The Satanic Verses* (1988), is a complex arrangement of picaresque, hagiographical, and satirical narratives, though more along the lines of a rereading of certain traditions of European fiction and their reception of Asian religion than a continuation of either traditional or modern South Asian fiction. Amitav Ghosh's *In an Antique Land* (1992) explores North African and West Asian religiosity from an anthropological perspective, applying a fractured postcolonial gaze to Islam and the Judeo–Arabic tradition as the "other." Gita Hariharan's *In a State of Siege* (2003), finally, is an example of engaged literature dealing with the pressures that a liberal historian faces when writing on religious history in a political atmosphere dominated by Hindu revisionism.

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Christoph Emmrich (2005)

GENDER AND RELIGION: GENDER AND AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGIONS

Religion, spirituality, the church, faith, holiness, the spirit—all of these have been invoked to explain the roles of African American women in the survival of their communities in the United States, their emergence as prominent leaders in every organized response to racial oppression, and their aggregate ability to thrive in spite of the appalling evidence of deprivations experienced by a substantial proportion of the population in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Furthermore, African American women, especially Christians, have invented traditions of leadership and engendered practices that empower women in contexts that presume and prescribe male leadership.

African American women's religious experience is as old and as varied as their existence in the Americas. We do not know the name of the first African woman to come to the Americas, but we do know that a woman named Isabella arrived in Jamestown, Virginia, with a group of Africans in 1619. Between 1619 and 1865, Africans and their descen-

dants developed a religious life in the context of an imposed English Protestantism and remembered African traditional religions. Although it is estimated that 10 to 18 percent of Africans coming to North America were Muslims, it has been difficult to assess fully their impact and role in the development of African American Christianity. Margaret Creel has found that the daughters of at least one Muslim slave were responsible for organizing a Baptist church in the South Carolina sea islands, the area that served as the Ellis Island for North American slavery.

The majority of African Americans in the United States are Christians—Protestant Christians, Baptist, Methodist, and Pentecostal. The seven largest denominations are the National Baptist Convention, USA; the National Baptist Convention of America; the Progressive National Baptist Convention; the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church; the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church; and the Church of God in Christ. These seven top the list of over one hundred distinct Christian bodies—denominations and congregational networks—that serve African American spiritual needs in some way. Alongside and in interaction with Christianity, one of the fastest growing traditions is Islam. Historically associated with the Nation of Islam in the twentieth century, African American Muslims are also part of the Sunnī, Ṣūfī, and other traditions.

Religion is a gendered experience filled with distinctive experiences for women alongside tensions and conflicts over options and limits surrounding women's leadership. African American women are predominantly but not exclusively Christian. W. E. B. Du Bois, Kelly Miller, and Mary Church Terrell in 1903 pointed out: "Upon the women of no race have the truths of the gospel taken a firmer and deeper hold than upon the colored women of the United States." Women are central to the life of their churches and mosques. Women are not only the majority of African Americans, but they make up the overwhelming majorities of churchgoers, between 75 and 90 percent in attendance on Sundays. Although Islam was often presented during the period of the Civil Rights movement as "the religion of the black man," Minister Louis Farrakhan, addressing the Million Man March in 1995, admitted that women were also the backbone of the mosque. By placing gender in the foreground of our perspective, it is possible to examine the importance of religious women and the variety of their roles in the United States and to see "the black church" and other expressions of faith and spirituality in a more nuanced and multifaceted light.

Enslaved African American women played multiple roles in slave communities, through the family, the "invisible church," and the slave women's network. All three roles had spiritual implications. As the primary caretakers of enslaved children, these women are cited throughout slave narratives as the principal sources of children's religious socialization. Children heard and observed women's prayers for freedom, learning that the spirit world was important and that there was a difference between what Thomas Webber called "slaveholding priestcraft" and the true religion of the folk. Webber also observed that women served as prayer leaders, preachers, and worship leaders for the entire community. During the slavery era a few black women evangelists were given safe conduct into the South to conduct revivals and to speak at camp meetings—meetings that slaves also attended. As members of a somewhat self-contained network within slave communities, women supported one another in their child-rearing responsibilities, and they also served the entire slave community as healers and midwives. Within this women's network, according to Deborah Gray White, women convened their own prayer meetings and developed autonomous women leaders, some of whom were able to influence the entire community through their preaching and prayers. In this there was a certain degree of continuity with women's spiritual leadership in West and Central African societies as priestesses, healers, and diviners. The roles of religious leaders in enslaved Christian communities also paralleled those of women in African-derived religions in other parts of the New World, such as vodun in Haiti, Candomblé in Brazil, and Santería in Cuba and Puerto Rico. Women became a central motor force in the spiritual history of slave communities, a role that was at odds with the presumptions of subservience and silence that governed women's roles in white churches.

Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman, two of the most famous women of the slavery period, were both embodiments of African American women's faith and spirituality. Truth grounded her antislavery narrative in her understanding of the Bible, using a banner on which she quoted *Leviticus* 25—"Proclaim liberty across the land"—to advertise her lectures. In addition to Truth's antislavery preaching, Nell Painter describes her as a well-respected Adventist preacher who traveled throughout the northeastern United States. After slavery was abolished Truth conducted a campaign to obtain land for freed people in the western United States. Tubman, popularly known as a *conductor* but more correctly understood as an *abductor* of slaves on the Underground Railroad, was deeply spiritual and a member of the A.M.E. Zion Church, where she exhibited the ecstatic spirituality associated with African American Christianity that W. E. B. Du Bois called "the frenzy."

Not only did black women form their own antislavery, mutual-aid, and burial societies, they were among the groups of African Americans north and south who founded and established churches before the Civil War. Women like Jarena Lee and Julia Foote sought preaching licenses in Methodist churches. Other women emerged as leaders in such movements as Shakerism. Black women were present and active in every single expression of religion in which black people could be found during the slavery era. Toward the end of slavery, during the Civil War, they were also among the missionaries who carried the gospel to freed people gathered in

and near Union Army camps. In doing so, women linked their leadership roles within black churches to education.

Black women were among the missionaries, white and black, who went to the South to establish schools for freedmen and women. Sponsored by church groups, these women became part of the emerging leadership class of "educators." Men in that class were often preachers as well as teachers in the local schools. Women ran schools that were funded by church groups, in some cases seeing their vocation as educators as their Christian mission. Mary McLeod Bethune, for instance, was educated at Moody Bible Institute, and she prepared for life in the mission fields of Africa. When told by the Presbyterian Church that there were no posts for Negroes in Africa, she taught in the South, founding her own school in Daytona, Florida. Newly established black colleges routinely sent their students as "missionaries" to teach in the rural South during the summers.

Freedom from slavery brought dilemmas in religious life. African Americans sought education for their children, but not at the expense of community, traditions, and religious folkways. Some northern missionaries, for instance Daniel Payne of the A.M.E. Church, encouraged slaves to abandon their ecstatic worship practices in favor of the more restrained styles of Anglo Americans. African American Christians were distinctly committed to the person of the Holy Ghost or Holy Spirit and insisted upon worship that celebrated this. Women as well as men articulated the folk theologies defending these practices. Furthermore, African American women are far more numerous and prominent in religious traditions emphasizing the Holy Spirit.

During and after Reconstruction, the A.M.E. and A.M.E. Zion churches grew, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church was formed, and the National Baptist Convention became the largest religious body among African Americans. Black churches, as Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham points out with specific reference to the Baptists, became the primary public square for African Americans. Beyond the local congregations, national meetings provided the spaces where a national community became a reality. In addition to worship, the most pressing social issues were discussed and women participated in almost all of these deliberations.

The resistance to women in ministry prompted women to oppose their marginalization through the formation of missionary societies and auxiliary conventions. Within these organizations they discussed the business of their churches and theological issues surrounding their roles. Although Baptist men rejected women as preachers, women created platforms for their own voices. Women in all traditions utilized their economic power to advance their points of view. As Tera Hunter reveals, black women were at least half the urban working class, so their cash money was responsible for building the churches that men insisted upon pastoring. Although in conflict over the role of women clergy, black churches enthusiastically welcomed women as "educators" within their congregations and denominations and as leaders in church-related and church-sponsored schools. Women used their importance as educators as a wedge to expand their opportunities for religious leadership as evangelists, missionaries, and, sometimes successfully, as clergy.

The conflicts over women's leadership in churches led to two parallel developments by the turn of the twentieth century. Women joined the newly organized Holiness churches, where they were welcome to preach (or "teach"), and churchwomen formed a secular organized movement to address social change and to offer leadership. As was to become typical of black women's organizing around gender, the leaders of this new movement stressed that they were not becoming separatists or withdrawing from the community but that they were simply coming forward as *leaders* and inviting men to join with them. By 1896, these women had formed the Nation Association of Colored Women as a federation of at least four hundred clubs, and they proceeded to send "organizers" into states that were unrepresented in the Association.

By 1895, the Church of God in Christ, the first of a series of new churches that carried forward worship emphasizing the Holy Spirit, was organized as a Holiness church. Women joined this church in large numbers. In spite of this church's restriction on their ordination, women in this denomination carved out what was to become typical of Holiness and later Pentecostal churches, the semiautonomous "women's department." Holiness and Pentecostal churches came to be called collectively the "Sanctified Church," a term indigenous to the African American experience. Where women are 75 percent of the black church overall, they are often more than 90 percent of some Holiness and Pentecostal congregations. These churches, in addition to offering a doctrine that affirmed the traditional worship emphasis on the Holy Spirit, addressed a range of problems confronting black people in the early twentieth century: education, standards of beauty, economic security, race relations, physical safety, urban migration, and, most importantly, women's religious roles.

The case of the Church of God in Christ is instructive. Although it began as a Holiness church, the Church of God in Christ became the first legally organized Pentecostal church in the United States. The founder, Bishop Charles Harrison Mason, was unmarried at the time, so he chose Mother Lizzie Woods Roberson to set up and lead the women's department. This established a tradition that separated women's leadership from the role of bishop's wife, a departure from the practices of the A.M.E. and other denominations. This separation reinforced a degree of autonomy for women in the denomination. Mother Roberson, a Baptist educator, also served to educate the clergy of the church. While the Church of God in Christ did not ordain women to be elders, pastors, or bishops or to "preach," the church allowed the women to "teach" the gospel and to lead churches when the pastors were "absent." The women's teaching expanded to a form of religious discourse that is not

only indistinguishable from preaching, but has become one of the strongest preaching traditions in African American Christianity.

Among most African American Christian churches, the leadership of pastors' and bishops' wives is assumed. These women are expected to be leaders of the women, excellent public speakers, and, often but not always, consummate musicians. They serve prominently in the church-as-public-square and occasionally lead within the traditions of worship (prayer, preaching, testimony, and song). In many congregations, these wives are experienced fundraisers, Sunday school superintendents, choir directors, and deaconesses, and they fill other vital roles. The tendency to look only at the pulpit in order to interpret and understand the church not only places too large an emphasis on male leaders but also masks and obscures the centrality of these clearly subordinate women's roles to the survival and advancement of churches. Interestingly, in all of the churches, women without restriction perform religious tasks that are sometimes associated with priestly ministry: praying, anointing with oil, and the laying on of hands for healing.

Women in the twentieth century also became prominent church founders. One in particular, Bishop Ida Robinson of the Mount Sinai Holy Church, founded a new denomination when the denomination in which she had been ordained made it clear that although she could serve as a pastor and vote for bishops, she could not herself become a bishop. Among other settings in the Sanctified Church it was standard practice for women to travel to new locations, preach on street corners until they had developed a following, and then "dig out" the new church.

Women persisted in finding creative ways to affirm and develop their leadership in the church. One particularly important strategy was to call for a "Women's Day." After observing such practices in a few congregations and regional conventions, Nannie Helen Burroughs introduced the idea of a national Women's Day to the National Baptist Convention in 1901. The idea was to develop women from the local congregations as public speakers, and Women's Day caught on and spread to every African American denomination and to nearly every congregation. Although Burroughs later complained that the day focused too heavily on fundraising, women used the day not only to foster solidarity within their congregations but to promote women's preaching and speaking. While some African American women clergy see Women's Day as tokenism, many churches have expanded the day to a cluster of activities involving revivals, retreats, and programs that empower laywomen and affirm preaching women.

Women's creativity is also apparent in the traditions of sacred music. Not only are women's voices prominent in descriptions of oral traditions, but women are also often the chief musicians of denominations, becoming the arbiters for what is acceptable within large networks of churches. Two such women, Lucie Campbell, who directed music in the National Baptist Convention, and Dr. Mattie Moss Clark, minister of music in the Church of God in Christ, not only guided the musical tastes of the denomination, but shaped their hymnbooks and composed music that contributed to a gospel music tradition that reached beyond the boundaries of churches. Some women, including Shirley Caesar, Dorothy Norwood, and Mother Willie Mae Ford Smith, combined the role of gospel singer and evangelist in order to circumvent the discrimination against women who preached.

The prominence of black male preachers was underscored during the Civil Rights movement when these men emerged as leaders and spokespersons for massive campaigns of civil disobedience. Subsequent research on the Civil Rights movement has revealed the roles of women throughout the period. These women were members and leaders of churches and on occasion, as in the case of Rosa Parks in the 1955 Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott, their moral authority as leaders derived from the communitywide respect they garnered in religious and political leadership. Fannie Lou Hamer, a Mississippian and participant in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, attained her prominence and leadership partly through her connections with the church and her role as a prominent song leader. The Civil Rights movement also advanced a concern for black men that was particularly addressed by the rise of the Nation of Islam. C. Eric Lincoln and Larry Mamiya point out that the Nation of Islam represented one of the most serious challenges to the unquestioned dominance of the black church. Often espoused as "the religion of the black man," it offered an alternative to Christianity and its racism that is particularly appealing to men.

In spite of Islam's masculine appeal, women are an integral part of African American Islam. During his speech at the 1995 Million Man March, Minister Louis Farrakhan admitted that women were the backbone of the mosque in ways similar to the role of women in the churches. Research in this area is very new and very limited. However, Carolyn Rouse, in her book *Engaged Surrender: African American Women and Islam,* points out that Islam's appeal to African American women is centered in visions of a just community and society and in hopes for family stability. Additionally, like Christian women, African American Muslim women are seeking a spiritual life in relation with the divine. Beverly Aminah McLeod also emphasizes the importance of social justice for African American women along with a sense of membership in a world community. Anecdotal evidence suggests that women who were formerly Christian are less likely to remain Muslim than are men. While Islam's emphases on prayer, fasting, and modesty parallel similar emphases among Pentecostal and Holiness women, the primary motivation for a "return" to Christianity is the women's attachment to elements of the Afro-Christian tradition such as gospel music and other aspects of tradition. Former Muslims in Christian churches are often catalysts for a more Afrocentric and political activist focus. Other anecdotes suggest that the traditional roles of

women in African American churches have had an effect on the way that African American Muslim men engage South Asian Muslim immigrants in America. African American Muslims may be more accommodating to women than their immigrant counterparts, although for the most part African American and South Asian Muslims attend separate mosques.

In addition to the rise of Islam, the Civil Rights movement evolved into the Black Power movement. That movement prompted the development of "Black Theology." Theologians such as James Cone advanced a liberation theology that depicted God as on the side of the poor and the oppressed. In response to the masculinism of Black Theology, a number of African American women scholars advanced a set of ideas that have come to be called *womanist*. Drawing on author Alice Walker's introduction of the term *womanist* with a dictionary-style definition, black women religious scholars have developed a conversation that explores black women's experiences in church and society with reference to every area of religious and theological studies. Social ethicist Katie Cannon emphasizes that the womanist idea represents "a critique of all human domination in light of Black Women's experience . . . that unmasks whatever threatens the well-being of the poorest women of color."

Toward the end of the twentieth century, women's leadership as ordained clergy faced less resistance. The growth and development of exceptionally large congregations called megachurches coincided with the development of prominent pastoral partnerships between married couples, providing visible role models for women. In 2000, the A.M.E. Church ordained its first woman bishop, Vashti Murphy McKenzie; her husband accepted the role of Episcopal supervisor, a role previously filled by bishops' wives. Bishop McKenzie was not only a prominent and nationally recognized preacher, she also served as chaplain to one of the largest secular organizations of black women, the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority. The synergistic relationship she established between leadership in an autonomous women's organization and leadership in an organization controlled by men was paralleled in the earlier roles of Mary McLeod Bethune and Dorothy Height.

At the end of the twentieth century, many scholars and clergy in African American churches were asking about the absence of men, while taking for granted the presence of women. Although exploring gender in African American religions should not be reduced to examining the roles of women, the gender question forces one to look beyond the prominence of the black male preacher to recognize that the most dominant tradition, African American Christianity, consists largely of women.

SEE ALSO African American Religions, overview article; Feminist Theology, article on Christian Feminist Theology; Women's Studies in Religion.

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CHERYL TOWNSEND GILKES (2005)

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]. The historical study of religions as it was theorized and practiced in the second half of the twentieth century by scholars like Geo Widengren, Angelo Brelich, Ugo Bianchi, Kurt Rudolph, and Carsten Colpe in Europe, or Mircea Eliade and Joseph Kitagawa in the United States, has since the 1970s been seriously challenged by macro-historical events—most notably, the emancipation of women and decolonization—that have dramatically shaken our vision of past and present history, and by the emergence of new scientific paradigms that have deeply affected the customary practice of writing history. Even the most strict practitioner of the historicist methodology cannot avoid reckoning with these novel perspectives, which are not antithetical, but rather complementary to the traditional historiography based on comparative historical and social scientific approaches. Consequently, it is impossible to write about the theory and practice of the history of religions without taking into consideration primarily the two approaches—feminist and postcolonial—that convert the role of women and decolonized peoples from objects to subjects (actors) in the religious history of humankind.

FEMINIST APPROACHES. In traditional historiography much of what claims to be objective scholarship about human experience is actually a depiction of prevalently male experience from an exclusively male point of view. If we accept this well-founded assumption, wholly new routes must be searched to recover the lives of women commonly overlooked by historians. Thus, historical work done according to feminist guidelines moves beyond traditional horizons and sources to look for women's actual experience and practices, causing a shift in the scholarly vantage point that fundamentally alters conventional contours of historical religious processes. This procedure develops frameworks for interpreting women's experiences that shatter the norms of canonical historiography, which usually takes the male outlook as the measure of human experience, and entails a radically new approach to the treatment of historical texts written by men about women and the far fewer yet increasing numbers of historical texts written by women.

A series of examples, taken from various religious traditions but tested in a cross-cultural perspective with a comparative mirror, can serve to emphasize the gains resulting from this approach. Original work done by feminist scholars of religion provides a more complete and accurate account of non-Western religious observance. For example, in conflict with traditional views canonized by androcentric scholarship, it has been demonstrated that women of Australia and India have a rich, elaborate set of religious practices that involve no male participation or control. Commonplaces of Christian and Islamic apologetics (occasionally shared by secular scholarship) concerning an allegedly improved status for women can also be seriously questioned if subjected to a feminist historical critique.

In the field of mythology the use of a feminist method can contribute to a reformulation of the controversial issue of the role of goddesses in both the Hindu and the ancient

Mediterranean pantheons. Fundamental religious typologies like monotheism, polytheism, and dualism can be reconfigured by emphasizing correlations with, respectively, patriarchy (involving a female subordination), female priesthood (related to divine feminine), and gender asymmetry (masculinity and femininity as the most fundamental structural opposition). On the other hand, utterly new typologies can be formulated based on the criterion of gender power balance correlated with the distinction between socially oriented and individually oriented religions. With regard to values and mores (e.g., African genital operations and Islamic segregation of women) espoused in religious systems against which an engaged historian of religions must take a critical stance, feminist scholarship can offer an original and important contribution if equipped with serious training in the cross-cultural study of religion combined with the intent to understand otherness with empathy free from cultural imperialism.

Postcolonial Approaches. The postcolonial approach emerged in the 1970s as an intellectual and political project prompted by literary theorists and cultural critics. They based their work on postphilosophical premises, mainly the post-Marxism of Antonio Gramsci (the concept of "subaltern" transferred into a colonial dimension), the post-Freudianism of Jacques Lacan (the notion of "other" as an image in the mirror serving to construct one's own self-image), the post-structuralism of Michel Foucault (the ambivalent relationship between knowledge and power), the deconstructionism of Jacques Derrida (the critique of binary opposition and consequent subversion of categories), the combat sociology of Pierre Bourdieu (the theory of practice, habitus, and field), and the postmodernism of Jean-Louis Lyotard (relativism of truth and values). Preeminent advocates of this approach include Edward W. Said (1935–2003), a Christian Arab from Palestine; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (b. 1942), a Hindu woman from Calcutta; and Homy K. Bhabha (b. 1949), a Parsi Indian from Bombay. They are all of Asiatic origin but were all educated at prominent Anglo-Saxon academic institutions and they teach (or have taught) in top North American universities. For a series of reasons (scarce familiarity with historical realities and methodology, political bias, jargon-heavy and convoluted style, and irritating narcissism), their works, more than valuable additions to the field of postcolonial studies, are rather conspicuous specimens of neocolonialist attitudes by elite intellectuals whose ideas have been molded in the most bourgeois Western think tanks and remain impenetrable to the colonized subaltern peoples they claim to represent. In spite of this fundamental flaw, the work of these gurus has been very influential on practiced scholars of religion who have tried to identify biases of various kinds in traditional scholarship and to introduce into the field a more self-reflexive attitude with an epistemological consciousness of cultural diversity.

After the initial critique of European colonial representations of "others" joined to an overtly political agenda, as in the case of the Martinique prophet of Third World uprising, Frantz Fanon (1925–1961), postcolonial theory has developed mainly in two directions: (1) the recovery of the genuine indigenous tradition of the colonized from colonial distortions; and (2) the analysis of the intercultural space resulting from the contacts, relations, and exchanges between the colonized and the colonizer (situations of hybridity or syncretism). Some case studies that can be investigated proficiently from the standpoint of the history of religions will be examined briefly.

The risk of a shift from reflexive historiography to specious, fictional constructionism involved in the conflation of Western academic (post)-isms with the political claims of the subaltern perspective becomes evident in the debate about the emergence of Hinduism as a concept and as a historical reality. Since Hinduism is the dominant religion in South Asia and also one of the major world religions (spreading into South East Asia and Central America) its definition is of paramount importance for history of religions generally. Drawing on heretofore overlooked sources, many researchers have explored the ways in which colonial administrators, with the support of Orientalist scholars, constructed knowledge about the society and culture of India and the processes through which that cumulated experience has shaped past and present reality. At the same time, focusing on indigenous accounts, memories, and interpretations, it has been possible to decenter the historical discourse and to present an alternative history of many local realities. Parallel to this process of indigenization of religious histories, the project has been carried on of placing the European colonizer and the colonized Asian into a shared historical space by stressing the mutual impact of Britain's colonization on Indian and British culture—from gastronomic mores to continuously recast religious identities. On the other hand, on the basis of manipulated evidence and postmodern fashionable theory, the idea has been formulated that Hinduism as a category was invented or constructed by European (mostly British) colonizers sometime after 1800. In other words, for the supporters (mostly British) of this theory, Hinduism is arguably a construct of Western scholars who, upon encountering Indian culture, created a religion along the lines of their own Christian conception of what a religion ought to be. And, to put it into political terms, this construction of a world religion abetted the colonial exploitation through a cultural alienation of Indians. This claim, with its political corollaries, is patently false, since Hinduism as a mark of shared religious identity—not just an ethno-geographical denomination—grew in the insiders' collective consciousness starting from post-Vedic times and was first recognized as such by an outsider approximately in 1030 CE—an outsider who was not British but Persian, the Muslim cultural historian and comparative religionist al-Bīrūnī.

This case is paradigmatic insofar as it has been argued that, on the basis of the alleged deconstruction of Hinduism as a coherent phenomenon, the concept of religion itself should be abandoned, because its ethnocentrism distorts so-

ciocultural realities of non-Western peoples. This argument, apart from being denied by historical analysis, is no less Western-centered than the traditional view of religion as a *sui generis* component of culture, and it can (from an axiological point of view) foster latent communalist tendencies. The postcolonial discourse has been applied to construct, deconstruct, and reconstruct religious realities in Asia (mainly Buddhism and Japan), Africa (mainly southern Africa and the British commonwealth), Oceania (Hawai'i), Latin America (Mexico), and North America (African America and Native America) with similar results, which can be either compelling and innovative or truistic or completely unfounded.

Sociobiological Approaches. Sociobiological approaches, which represent in a sense a naturalistic counterpoise to the culture-centered approaches of feminist and postcolonial studies, present yet another challenge to previous versions of the history of religions. The study of religion as a phylogenetic type arises in the 1970s and can hardly be conceived outside of a general neo-Darwinian frame of reference and the establishment of ethology as a science that included the study of *Homo sapiens sapiens* as a zoological species. To Konrad Lorenz (1903–1989) we owe the discovery of *imprinting*, an especially rapid and relatively irreversible learning process that occurs early in the individual's life, and the correlate innate release mechanism, whereby organisms are genetically predisposed to be especially responsive to certain stimuli. On the basis of ethology and the theory of genetic cultural transmission as exposed by the geneticist Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza (b. 1922) it can be held that the evolution of human culture (embracing language, art, and religion) is bound to the same mechanism as biological evolution.

However, the father of sociobiology as a science arguing that social animals, including humans, behave largely according to rules written in their very genes is the entomologist Edward O. Wilson (b. 1929). No less than such basic instincts as aggression and greed (with their nasty consequences, such as warfare and sex role imbalance), the religious tendency is deeply ingrained in our genetic baggage. To put it bluntly, genes tether culture, including religion and morality; consequently, the developments of religions can be envisaged as adaptive modifications based on a survival strategy following the same evolutionary rules of biology. Through a systematic sociobiological study all the highest forms of religious practice can be demonstrated to confer biological advantage (congealing identities is one of its characteristic goals). In the words of one of its main critics, "sociobiology challenges the integrity of culture as a distinctive and symbolic human creation. In place of a social constitution of meanings, it offers a biological determination of human interactions with a source primarily in the general evolutionary propensity of individual genotypes to maximize their reproductive success" (Sahlins, 1976, p. x). In spite of this and other (ideologically biased) accusations of "social Darwinism," if history of religions is meant to avoid metaphysical musings, on the one hand, and the excess of cultural relativism, on the other, it might best proceed on the theoretical presupposition of "human universals" located at the confluence between biologically based constraints and their sociohistorical constructions.

The sociobiological approach had precursors also among scholars of humanities, including the leading art historian Aby Warburg (1866–1929), who situated the origin and development of religious art against the background of the natural environment interfering with basic human emotions such as fear, and the classical philologist and folklorist Karl Meuli (1891–1968), who detected the origins of sacrifice in prehistoric hunters' rituals. The sociobiological approach has also found valid support in (evolutionary) psychology of religion (as represented by the ethnopsychoanalyst Georges Devereux [1908–1986] and the anthropologist with psychoanalytical background Weston la Barre [1911–1996] with his theory of "neoteny," or biological infantilization at the basis of human culture) and in (behavioral) ecology of religion (advocated by postfunctionalist anthropologists like Marvin Harris [1927–2001] and Roy A. Rappaport [1926–1997]). A biological perspective is avowedly present in the seminal work of the German historian of ancient religions Walter Burkert (b. 1931) and, *mutatis mutandis*, in that of the Dutch Indologist and comparatist Frits Staal (b. 1930), which similarly touches upon ethological analogies.

Cognitive Approaches. The basic premise of cognitive approaches to the study of religion is that religion is rooted in evolved cognitive capacities common to all humans, which can explain recurrent patterns in religious realities. Given that these capacities are not specific to the religious domain but comply with the working of human mind, the main corollary is that religion is not *sui generis:* It is defined, instead, by the ways that these universal cognitive capacities assume by participating in sociocultural processes. The basic procedure is to draw on experimental work in cognitive psychology in order to explain patterns in religious representations. The cognitive approach was first applied to the explanation (1990) of religious ritual systems by a philosopher of science, Robert N. McCauley, and a comparative religionist, E. Thomas Lawson. It privileges exclusively the communicative—linguistic and symbolic—aspects of religions. As such it is not based on any empirical investigation of cultural data but on the linguistic theory of Noam Chomsky (b. 1928), the founder of a cognitive, evolutionary approach to linguistics, and the "epidemiology of representations," a naturalistic approach to culture devised by the French social and cognitive scientist Dan Sperber. Starting from Chomsky's contention that grammars of natural languages are biologically based, these scholars maintain, contrary to Chomsky, that cognitive naturalistic methods can also prove relevant to the study of sociocultural phenomena, including religion. And, following Sperber's claim that humans have an innate symbolic mechanism genetically guided, but countering his stark distinction between linguistic and symbolic phenomena, they make a strong plea for connecting cognition and culture

and, at the same time, for the combination of interpretation and explanation in the study of religion.

The idea that religious materials are mental representations is obviously a truism, since George Berkeley (1685–1753) a shared notion that should be well known to every humanist scholar without recourse to neuroscience. We learn, further, that many apparently specific features of religious behavior result from activating cognitive resources for thinking about (superhuman) agents and that religion is characterized by counterintuitive representation. (In a more sophisticated version of the theory, religious notions result from a delicate balance between intuitive and counterintuitive ontologies.) The presence itself of counterintuitive mental images is a necessary but not sufficient criterion for religiousness. The fallacy of this criterion is self-evident: the counterintuitiveness of any mental product is to be assessed only in the frame of a specific historical context and is conditioned by cultural and individual factors.

Critics of the cognitive approach have argued that it does not say anything about the meaning of religion, that it is scientistic, reductionist, and detrimental from the point of view of humanistic values and that it is of no use for understanding the human condition. In spite of these and other evident defects this approach can be instrumental to the progress of the history of religions, if cognitive scholars renounce meta-theoretical ruminations and try to measure themselves against empirical (ethnographic or historical) evidence. Although this is still an emerging field limited to a narrow circle of scholars roaming between North America and Scandinavia, some good work has already been produced on specific issues, for example, on the origin of religions, a very controversial issue indeed, or on Melanesian religion, studied according to the theory of divergent modes of religiosity.

UN-CONCLUSION. After the examination of all these new approaches, which are in a way entrenched in contrasting views on the relationship between science and society, a few words must be said against any monolithic tyranny of whatever methodology. Historians of religions who are inclined to inflexible rationalism or to staunch support of a given method should be made acquainted with some epistemological novelties that revolutionized the sociology of scientific knowledge and are also bound to exert a profound influence on the practice and conceptualization of all the humanities disciplines. In 1973 the American historian Hayden White (b. 1928) published a book offering an ambitious schema of the "poetics of history." He asserted that the vision of a given historian derives not from the evidence, since his vision selects in advance what will constitute the relevant evidence, but rather from conscious or unconscious choices made among a series of possibilities. Thus the version of the past chosen by the historian depends on moral and aesthetic values shared by him and his ideal audience, rather than depending on presumptive raw data. In his own words, "histories . . . contain a deep structural content which is generally poetic, and specifically linguistic, in nature, and which serves as the precritically accepted paradigm of what a distinctively 'historical' explanation should be" (1973, p. ix). Given the presence of this "metahistorical" element in all historical works, every pretense of objectivity is unrealistic. Ultimately, this book is the demystification of histories and historians who claim to present things "as they are," while providing some methods for determining in what ways a given account can be envisaged as ideologically biased.

Within a broader theoretical framework, in 1975 the anarchistic message of rejection of the existence of universal methodological rules by the Austrian philosopher of science Paul Feyerabend (1924–1994) exploded as a bombshell in the scientific quarters. Parting company from the strong empiricism of his own school (Karl Popper [1902–1994]), he maintained that new (supposedly correct) theories have only an aesthetic advantage vis-à-vis the old (supposedly falsified) theories. Feyerabend objected to any single prescriptive scientific method on the grounds that in most cases new successful theories came to be accepted not because of their scientific exactness, but because their supporters made use of any trick—rational, rhetorical, or ribald—in order to advance their cause. (This argument is also applicable to modern and postmodern developments in the field of religious studies.) In a hyperbolical way, he held that negative views about astrology and the effectiveness of rain dances were not justified by scientific investigation, and, more generally, he thought that there is no justification for valuing scientific claims over claims by other ideologies like religions. This caveat, and any other warning against excessive trust into the explanatory power of science, should give us a stimulus for keeping aloof from the pitfalls of dogmatism.

SEE ALSO Colonialism and Postcolonialism; Gender and Religion, article on History of Study; Historiography, article on Western Studies; Sociobiology and Evolutionary Psychology, overview article; Subaltern Studies.

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Sociobiological Approaches

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Cognitive Approaches

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Un-conclusion

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GIOVANNI CASADIO (2005)

MATERIALITY. The concept of *materiality of religion* has largely been developed within the discipline of the history of religions and follows the work of Charles H. Long (b. 1926) and Mircea Eliade (1907–1986). Both of these scholars have been concerned with the origin of religion. In the case of Eliade the origin of religion is associated with the human connection to the material world. For Long the origin of religion emerges through *intercultural contact*, a term that refers not just to interhuman contact but to contact between distinctive orientations to material life, or a cosmology of relationships. Of dramatic significance for the origins of religion has been *modernity*, which followed the "Age of Discovery."

One of the defining features of modernity has been the often catastrophic encounters between Western expansionism and empirical "others" (i.e., people locally and indigenously organized). In this world of cultural contact religion has played an important, yet ambiguous role. The expansionist powers of Europe held together their empires by intellectualist means: the use of books and military hardware were combined with religious, scholarly, economic, and political institutions to forge a sense of the superiority of the West. Ironically, however, the West (as we have come to know it) has been, and continues to be, radically transformed in its encounters with others. In large part the way the West defines itself is due to the influences of its dominated peoples from throughout the world. These influences have been rigorously and fastidiously denied and ignored by academics, even though the material and bodily aspects of our "global culture" are propped up by a staggering degree of cultural diversity.

Disjunction between ideological and material constructions of the West reveals a profound ambiguity embedded within modern understandings of religion. It is the task of the history of religions to work through the diverse meanings embedded within these occasions of cultural contact. The history of religions is involved with a self-conscious interrogation of religion with respect to other cultures and their perceived understandings of the world.

Through the history of religions, contact with empirical others, however, must be situated in a context of the sacred. While not a necessary condition for the historian of religions, an understanding of the various interpretations of the sacred has profoundly influenced the discipline. Contact with the sacred Other has been conceived as awe-inspiring and an engagement with absolute power, or a manifestation of the sacred (i.e., hierophany). For Rudolf Otto, Gerardus van der Leeuw, and Eliade, archaic people (i.e., people who are primarily concerned with archetypal meanings embedded in material life) meaningfully evaluate their world with reference to negotiating various manifestations of a powerful Other—the hierophany. Ultimate and absolute power, the sacred, is opaque to direct human interpretations because human life is understood as being *wholly* contingent on the sacred Other. The hierophany, a presentation of absolute and therefore sacred power, is the experience that organizes or founds the world. A meaningful orientation to the material world is only understood with reference to this wholly significant Other.

Contact with empirical others during the modern period is the anthropological analog of a history of religions formulation of contact with the sacred Other. It is the fiction of transparency of empirical others that determines the character of the modern world. For while they are rendered variously as noble savages or wild men, empirical others are rarely understood to be intimately involved in cultural exchanges with civilization. Empirical others are discussed, examined, sympathized with, and so on, but rarely are they understood to be actively engaged in the formation of modernity. Empirical others have been seen as religious but have not gained the same status as the sacred Other—an opaque reality that constitutes our modern phenomenal existence. Instead, according to Long, empirical others have been "signified" as transparent and peripheral to modernity. Many of the issues that have traditionally emerged in the history of religions with reference to the Other have tremendous potential in the current, postmodern climate for the critical evaluation of the otherness embedded in modernity.

MATERIALITY AND THE PLACE OF RELIGION. Another defining feature of modernity has been mobility—the freedom of movement. But this freedom from the European perspective deprived other cultures of their own freedom when they butted against conquistadors, merchants, and explorers. The consequence of European movement into territories not traditionally their own was the radical disruption, and often extermination, of indigenous people's traditions and practices—or what has been called *cultural genocide*. Simultaneous with the development of the freedom of movement for European people was the loss of freedom for indigenous people to remain in their place. This is reflective of colliding materialities.

The consequences of contact between once disparate people have been enormous. The Age of Discovery pushed cultures into situations of negotiation in intimate proximity with other cultures that were once seen as remote and radically "other." Europeans developed elaborate interpretive strategies in order to camouflage deep and abiding relationships with others. These strategies constituted an important mythic corpus that included ultimate authority of the book, objectivity or omniscience, a "primitive/civilized" classificatory schema (as well as other schemas), and religious justifications for colonialism, warfare, enslavement, consumerism, and so on. These mythic themes have all manner of tragedies attached to them, and it is their materialization that defines the modern age.

It is the disruption of meaningful places that makes the history of religions possible and necessary. Although the devastation of places has had a long history in the European and Mediterranean worlds, it becomes particularly endemic and reified during the modern era. Central to the imperial projects of European kingdoms was the development of strategies for occupying what were seen as "new" worlds. Conceptual tools were required in order to leave home and occupy other people's homes. The inevitable consequence was a contentious intimacy with indigenous peoples upon whose lives the survival of colonial people depended. With the loss of home the essential nature of one's cultural self-definition is forever transformed. The prevailing emotion of the Age of Discovery and the Enlightenment was the headiness and lightness of disorientation that arises from a peripatetic philosophy embracing the virtues of freedom in movement. (For an examination of the consequences of colonialism, see works by Todorov and Dussel in the bibliography.)

From various perspectives the modern era epitomizes a shift in the human material orientation from *locative* to *utopian* (i.e., "no place"). This shift is not new in human history but was rigorously endorsed and promoted by modernity. Europeans had to justify far-flung imperial projects by emphasizing the ultimate significance of "placelessness." Indigenous people underwent extermination from discoverers, colonists, and merchants; to survive they likewise had to radically transform their traditional practices in order to maintain their locative orientations. The structure of modernity is generated by the fictive (utopian, placeless) status of formulations of meaning. The ultimate meanings of people's lives are determined by others—books, institutions, intellectuals—or on the whole modalities removed from an immediate living reality and context. Material referents for the creative impulses of the modern era are rigorously signified by abstract symbols like the Bible or heaven. Abstraction of material existence swept a larger universe (or empire) under its influence and obscured the nature of power.

The consequences of modernity for colonized people has been catastrophic. Without minimizing the "American holocaust," however, it is also the task of the history of religions to reflect on the consequences of modernity on the culture of the colonizer, which in various ways is articulated as the modern university. This move completes the hermeneutical circle—a return to the self in light of the approximation of the other. But it is also an attempt to regain a critical interpretive location in the context of an experience of modernity.

HISTORY OF RELIGIONS AND MATERIALITY. The history of religions has hit upon a way of short-circuiting the dangers of articulating others within the academy. In its recent past the discipline was dominated by the quest for understanding the "sacred" in all of its manifestations. This was an encyclopedic enterprise inspired by assumptions about the possibility of such knowledge. While such an enterprise is not probable now because of an almost universal affirmation of the cultural embeddedness of our understandings, an important feature of this work was its grammatical thrust—expressed as a morphology of the sacred. Apart from the essentialist nature of the discipline, a morphology can move toward articulating the other as a radical critique of the self.

Material elements such as water, stones, mountains, and trees are the referents for religious activity throughout the world. More importantly they also serve as referents for interhuman contact. The key feature of this, however, is that the meanings of these material referents (say, a plot of land in Jerusalem) are opposed to one another. The history of religions has the faculties to discuss a morphology of contact rooted in a phenomenology in which ultimate meanings of the world are at stake. Various understandings of the world are mediated by material life. Taking seriously the development of the history of religions as a search for the meanings of the sacred Other, recent disciplinary emphasis has been on the embeddedness of the academic examination of empirical others, which is negotiated through the materiality of human existence. The religious meanings of material life has always been a feature of indigenous religions all over the world. Historians of religions, intrigued by its origins, have explored the rituals of a wide variety of indigenous religions. They have recorded insights on how material life is a constant source of reflection and revelation into the reality of the sacred Other. It is though the ritual process that the meaning of material life is actively engaged. The materiality of religion, therefore, is both the point of origin for religion as well as the discipline of the History of Religions.

Nearly from its inception the history of religions has been populated by those who have been deemed "other" by the Western university. To the standard list of atheist, Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist are also added Africans, African Americans, Europeans, European Americans, Asians, Asian Americans, Chicanos, Latin Americans, Native Americans, and ongoing permutations of these categorical distinctions. This is not an exhaustive list of groups from which historians of religions originate, but simply an illustration of the diversity of interpretive locations that have constituted the discipline. Methodologies of the history of religions have been constructed in such a way as to give as authentic a voice as possible to others who have moved into the academy. Others proximate to, yet excluded from, the creation of modernity can actively participate in the vitality of the discipline by engaging in methodological discussions through their orientations to their material worlds. It is no longer simply the case that scholars of religions pass judgment about "other" religions, but rather they are actively engaged in a more subtle and risky venture of exploring how the "other" has been materially involved with the "self." From the start and up until the recent past, therefore, methodological discussions have been seen as critical in the formation of the discipline.

In the late twentieth century there was often perceived to be a struggle for the heart and soul of the university. Various strategies were adopted to include underrepresented groups in university organization. Some scholars have lamented that these struggles amount to a loss of the central organizing principle of the Western intellectual tradition. Others maintain that a politics of domination has been justified and instigated by the university, and thus the inclusion of those seen as peripheral to its development is an important corrective measure. To these debates regarding the future of the university, the history of religions could add something important. First, the West was never constructed out of whole cloth, but arose from the ambiguous material situations that grew out of world subjugating enterprises. Empirical others have always been proximate, and therefore there is no Western self-sufficient self-definition. Intellectual moves to reify an authentic "self" within the university were always implemented with reference to what was perceived as a dangerous "other" either in its midst or just outside its walls. The more proximate the "other," the more dangerous it is. It is the universities' esteemed push toward clarity that obfuscates a morphology of contact.

Second, and more importantly, if there is to be a future for the university it must find modalities for discussion across all sorts of cultural, gendered, racial, and ethnic lines—however arbitrary the history of the development of those lines may be. This strategy of organization is in contrast to the move toward entrenchment of area studies programs that see the survival of themselves, as "others" within the university (women, African Americans, Native Americans, etc.), as necessarily adopting the citadel mentality of the West. In contrast, the history of religions has developed, and continues to develop, interpretive strategies for interrogating the meanings of the modern world by engaging human creativity at its deepest level. Seriously navigating the worlds of marginalized people is the future of the university. Moving these worlds into theoretical and methodological reflection is the means by which conversation can occur. This is the future of the university and will require that it reframe its intellectual activity away from the citadel to an exploration of radical material diversity. This is a risky business in which living by one's wits takes on a new energy because everything—competing cosmologies—is at stake. At the very least, if intense interaction of peoples characterizes the modern world, that interaction must be adequately reflected in the university. It seems also to be the case that others can offer powerful criticisms of, interpretations of, and alternatives to modernity.

The pressure exerted by an approximation of other meaningful orientations to material life (or other *materialities*) generates a critical faculty within the history of religions. It is not simply an authentic reduplication of another's voice, but rather a rigorous amplification and directing of that voice. The other cannot, in the final analysis, be completely relegated to an interpreter's grammar. It is not a self-appointed other whose existence is simply an extension of the writer's imaginative labors. Rather, the other operates on the historian of religions and exerts sometimes enormous pressure to be known, and in doing so transforms. While this may happen in large measure within the imaginative and creative confines of the scholar's work, it nonetheless unmasks the intimate other—a critical voice—and thus unleashes new possibilities for understanding the world. The materiality of the present situation is a mythic construction of the past. This past was constituted out of sustained cultural contact between a wide variety of "others" who, together, have worked to create the present world. From a history of religion perspective, the material world is not so much a factual reality as a mythic reality, one that requires constant creative engagement of concern.

SEE ALSO Economics and Religion; Gardens, article on Gardens in Indigenous Traditions; Sacrament, overview article.

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PHILIP P. ARNOLD (2005)

MERKAVAH MYSTICISM is a term used in modern scholarship for the phenomenon behind the Jewish visionary literature of late antiquity. This literature, composed in Hebrew and Aramaic between the third century and the eighth century CE, is known as *heikhalot* literature and is preserved in manuscripts written mostly in medieval Germany and the Mediterranean. This literature describes journeys to heaven undertaken by rabbis such as ʿAqivaʾ and Yishmaʿeʾl through the seven "palaces" *(heikhalot)* to the divine throne-room, where God is seated on his chariot-throne *(merkavah).* Some of these texts also describe the conjuration of an angel who imparts to the conjurer a prodigious memory and profound wisdom. This literature is often considered to be the first stage in the history of Jewish mysticism.

Merkavah is the Hebrew word for chariot. The word appears in *1 Chronicles* 28:18 to describe the superstructure of the Ark of the Covenant in the ancient Temple, which constituted a kind of earthly throne for God. In this structure, two angelic creatures called *cherubs* framed the ark with their outstretched wings. However, the term was later used to identify the traveling throne of God seen by Ezekiel in his vision in *Ezekiel* 1–3. *Merkavah* is used in this way in the book of *Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus)* 49:8. In the Angelic Liturgy in the Dead Sea Scrolls the term is used in the context of the heavenly temple. In the *heikhalot* literature, the *merkavah* is the grand throne in the highest layer of heaven on which God is seated, surrounded by angelic hosts, as in *Ezekiel* 1–3 and *Isaiah* 6.

Gershom Scholem, who brought this literature to the attention of scholars in his monumental studies of Jewish mysticism (*Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, 1941, chap. 2 and *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkavah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, 1965), argued that these texts reflected a practice of cultivating ecstatic visions of an anthropomorphic God. In recent decades, students of this literature have questioned this thesis, asking whether these texts constituted stories to be read and recited, liturgical texts, or magical texts for achieving specific practical goals.

ANTECEDENTS AND PARALLELS. *Merkavah* mysticism has precedents in apocalyptic literature, which abounds in stories of ancient heroes who took guided tours to heaven. However, in apocalyptic texts such as the books of *Enoch* these ascents are undertaken at God's initiation, whereas the ascents in *merkavah* mysticism are taken by the traveler himself. The Dead Sea Scrolls include an intriguing Angelic Liturgy known as the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, in which the liturgist depicts a heavenly temple where angels officiate. This liturgy has many affinities with *heikhalot* texts, especially *Maʿaseh Merkavah*, but here too the worshiper does not ascend but simply describes the workings of the heavenly temple.

The *merkavah* is mentioned in several places in rabbinic literature. One of the most prominent texts is based on the law given in *Mishnah Ḥagigah* 2:2 that "The *merkavah* may not be expounded before one person unless he is a sage and understands of his own knowledge." Given the context, the Mishnah would seem to be speaking of exegetical traditions about *Ezekiel* chapter 1. But the Tosefta, a supplementary collection of extra-Mishnaic traditions, adds several curious details. The most striking of these is a cryptic story about four sages who entered the orchard (Heb., *pardes).* Of these, Ben ʿAzzʾai glimpsed and died; Ben Zoma glimpsed and went mad; (the heretical Rabbi) Elishaʿ ben Avuyah "cut the shoots"; and ʿAqivaʾ ascended and descended safely (t. *Ḥagigah* 2:3). This enigmatic tradition is given no further explanation, but *merkavah* tradition took it to mean that there were dangers inherent in visiting the divine precinct. An equally puzzling statement in the Babylonian Talmud (b. *Ḥagigah* 14b) relates this to a warning given by Rabbi ʿAqivaʾ not to cry "water, water" when one sees marble palaces. A similar text in *Heikhalot Zutarti*, one of the texts of merkavah mysticism, relates this warning to the ascent to the *merkavah*. Based on these parallels, Scholem and others have suggested that *merkavah* mysticism, that is, cultivation of visions of ascent to heaven, stemmed from the central circles of early rabbinic leadership. David Halperin's study of these traditions, however, shows that the earliest stages of rabbinic literature do not yield evidence for such a practice.

THE ASCENT TEXTS. The *heikhalot* texts appear in their most complete form in manuscripts transmitted from the fourteenth century to the sixteenth century by scribes associated with the German Jewish pietists known as the Ashkenazic Ḥasidim. Fragments of the texts also appear in the *Cairo Genizah*, a collection of discarded manuscripts from medieval Egypt. Traces of the literature and the phenomena they represent can be found in Jewish magical literature, Talmud and midrash, and the Jewish controversial literature of the early Middle Ages. The major works have been published in two pioneering synoptic editions by Peter Schäfer. The texts can be divided into two types: *ascent texts* that describe how a rabbi traveled to the divine throne-room, and *adjuration texts* that provide instructions for conjuring an angel known as the Prince of the Torah (*Sar ha-Torah*) or Prince of Wisdom (*Sar ha-Ḥokhmah*), who will grant the practitioner wisdom and skill in learning the Torah. Related to the ascent texts are the *Shiʿur Qomah* texts, which describe in graphic detail the measurements of God's body. Although they are attributed to rabbis who lived in the second century CE, they were almost certainly not written by those rabbis.

The paradigmatic ascent text is *Heikhalot Rabbati* (The greater [book of the] palaces). In the core narrative of this text Rabbi Yishmaʿeʾl relates how he, with a company of colleagues, including his teacher Rabbi Naḥunyaʿ ben haQanah, learned the secrets of ascending (a process that is paradoxically described sometimes as "descending") to "see the King in his beauty." The text proceeds to describe the wonders, dangers, and rewards of this journey. The cosmology underlying the narration is that of a celestial abode of God surrounded by seven palaces (*heikhalot*). At the gate to each palace stand fearsome angelic guards who are waiting to attack anyone who is not properly qualified to enter. The traveler succeeds in entering each palace by having in his possession elaborate divine names (sometimes known as "seals"), which he presents to the angelic guard, and by having esoteric knowledge of the heavenly topography and the names and characteristics of specific angels. One prevailing motif of the ascent narrative is the awe and terror that grips the traveler as he confronts the angels or witnesses the rivers of fire or vast chambers of the divine realm. At the same time, the adept is rewarded and assured if he does manage to gain admission to the next *hekhal*. A passage from *Heikhalot Rabbati* illustrates this dynamic. The passage depicts the moment when a man who wishes to descend to the *merkavah* arrives at the gate of the seventh *hekhal*. He is met by the angel Anafiel, who opens the gate for him. However, when the *ḥayot*, the holy creatures described in *Ezekiel* 1:5–12, cast their five hundred and twelve eyes on him, "he trembles, quakes, recoils, panics, and falls back fainting. But the angel Anafiel and the sixty-three guards of the seventh palace assist him and say, 'Do not fear, son of the beloved seed! Enter and see the King in his beauty. Your eyes will see, you will not be slaughtered, and you will not be burned!'" (Schäfer, 1981, sec. 248).

Another important component of the ascent texts is hymnology. The major ascent texts are embellished by hymns praising God or, in the case of a set of poems in *Heikhalot Rabbati*, singing of the dangers and rewards of the vision. One *heikhalot* text, *Maʿaseh Merkavah* (The work of the chariot), consists largely of esoteric prayers framed by narrative of the vision of the heavens and the cultivation of the *Sar-Torah*. *Heikhalot Rabbati* contains two distinctive types of hymns. One type consists of hymns of praise in an elaborate style, replete with profusions of synonyms for praise. When the traveler reaches the seventh *hekhal*, the divine throne-room, the text breaks into a long list of adjectives describing God as king: "He is a righteous king, a faithful king, a gentle king, a humble king, a just king, a loving king, a holy king, a pure king," and so on (Schäfer, 1981, sec. 249). This passage may have been placed at this strategic point in the narrative of *Heikhalot Rabbati* to illustrate the angelic liturgy in which the traveler participates. Another style follows a more complex pattern and contains allusions to the journey itself. These also culminate in the recitation of the liturgical *qedushah*, the doxology sung by the angels in *Isaiah* 6:3. One such hymn addresses the angels directly (Schäfer, 1981, sec. 158):

> You who annul the decree, who dissolve the oath, who repel wrath, who turn back jealousy. . . why is it that you sing praises, and at times you rejoice, and you are fearful, and at times you recoil?. . . They said, "When the wheels of the divine glory of the *Merkavah* darken, we stand in great dread, but when the radiance of the *Merkavah* gives light, we are very happy," as it is said, "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts, the fullness of the earth is his glory." (*Is.* 6:3)

A third style, found in other texts, especially *Maʿaseh Merkavah*, draws from the earliest stage of post-biblical Hebrew liturgical poetry, called *piyyut*. This style uses parallelism (the prevailing characteristic of biblical poetry), as well as a steady rhythm, usually of four feet, to convey the praise of God and the participation of both angels and humans in this praise. One hymn in *Maʿaseh Merkavah* expresses it this way:

> Angels stand in heaven, and the righteous are sure in their remembrance of You, and Your name hovers over them all. (Schäfer, 1981, sec. 587)

This hymn emphasizes that God (especially the divine name, which plays an important role in the text) transcends both the angelic community in heaven and the human worshipers (the "righteous"). This reinforces the idea prominent in the text that humans have the right to praise God in correspondence with the angelic liturgy. In the texts themselves, prayer and hymnology have several functions. For *Heikhalot Rabbati*, which emphasizes the ascent through the seven palaces, extravagant praise of God is the duty and privilege of the traveler when he reaches the divine chambers. For the ascent texts in *Maʿaseh Merkavah*, prayer actually causes the divine vision. Rabbi ʿAqivaʾ declares, "When I recited this prayer I saw 6,400,000,000 angels of glory facing the throne of glory" (Schäfer, 1981, sec. 551).

While the culmination of the ascent texts is clearly the vision of God, the end result of this vision is not always made clear. For *Heikhalot Rabbati*, "seeing the king in his beauty" may be sufficient. But there are hints that according to some of these texts, the human traveler is to be transformed into an angelic being himself. This is what happens to the biblical Enoch in *Sefer Heikhalot* (The book of the palaces), also known as *3 Enoch*. In this late fusion of *heikhalot* and apocalyptic narrative traditions, Enoch relates to Rabbi Yishmaʿeʾl how he ascended to heaven, and, having resisted the challenge of angelic guards of the divine presence, was transformed into Metatron, the archangel who stands at God's right hand. In a fragment from the *Cairo Genizah*, each person who qualifies to enter the seventh *hekhal* is seated "on a seat that has been reserved before the Throne of Glory." If the traveler does not actually become an angelic being, he is at least allowed to participate in the angelic divine service of God's praise.

THE *SAR-TORAH* TEXTS. Another important sector of this literature is found alongside the ascent texts but concerns

quite a different subject: the conjuration of an angel, the Prince of the Torah (*Sar ha-Torah*) or Prince of Wisdom (*Sar ha-Ḥokhmah*), who will grant the individual prodigious powers of memory, intelligence, and skill in the study of Torah, thus transforming any simpleton into a great rabbi. Like the ascent texts in the *heikhalot* corpus, these texts are attributed to rabbinic heroes such as Rabbi Yishmaʿeʾl and his teacher Naḥunyaʿ ben ha-Qanah. But unlike them, these texts do not concern an ascent to heaven but the process of bringing an angel down to earth. These texts are an indication of the centrality of memory in the scholastic society formed by rabbinic Judaism. At the same time, they draw on the extensive Jewish magical tradition, which preserves other rituals and incantations for the improvement of memory.

The texts, like the ascent texts, are cast as narratives. However, the narrative serves to introduce ritual instructions and to attest to the effectiveness of the ritual. These instructions usually involve extensive rituals of preparation. The practitioner is instructed, sometimes by an informing angel, to purge himself of all traces of ritual impurity by elaborate rituals of seclusion, fasting, ablution, and avoidance of infinitesimal traces of menstrual impurity (*niddah*). These rituals go well beyond those prescribed in rabbinic law for ritual purity. The object of these rituals of purification is to prepare the individual for the encounter with the angel, who will tolerate no contamination in his presence. Another important feature is the recitation of prayers and incantations that include elaborate magical names. These, like the "seals" of the ascent texts, provide the assurance to the intermediaries that the practitioner's request carries with it divine authority.

When the angel does arrive and grant the practitioner the skill in learning that he desires, the narrative relates the miraculous transformation of the ordinary student into a great scholar. In a *Sar-Torah* text appended to *Heikhalot Rabbati*, Rabbi Yishmaʿeʾl attests that "I did not believe [in the effectiveness of the incantation] until I brought a certain fool and he became equal to me" in learning (Schäfer, 1981, sec. 305). In addition to these abilities, the practitioner acquires cosmic secrets and the specific esoteric knowledge transmitted by the magical tradition.

THE *SHIʿUR QOMAH*. Another distinctive genre within *heikhalot* literature is the *Shiʿur Qomah*, or "Measurement of the Body." The *Shiʿur Qomah* consists of enumerations of the dimensions of the body of God. Each part of the divine body is given a specific measurement, given in *parsangs* (Persian miles), as well as an esoteric name: "The left ankle of the Creator is named 'TRQM,' may he be blessed. It is 190,000,000 *parsangs* tall . . . from his ankles to the knee of the Creator is called GMGY, may he be blessed, and has a height of 600,000,080 *parsangs*" (Cohen, 1985, pp. 30–31). It is explained that one of the divine *parsangs* equals 1,640,000,025,000 terrestrial *parsangs*. The text seems to have been written for the purpose of liturgical recitation and also contains several hymns. This text represents an extreme example of anthropomorphic tendencies prevalent in *heikhalot* literature, as well as its tendency to ascribe gargantuan dimensions to heaven and its inhabitants.

However, in *heikhalot* ascent texts God rarely speaks directly to humans, even if they visit in his throne room. He is portrayed anthropomorphically but not anthropopathically, distinguishing this genre from apocalyptic literature, in which God initiates the encounter with the human who is snatched up to heaven, and delivers a message (by himself or through an angelic informant) concerning the secrets of history and the destiny of Israel. In *heikhalot* literature, God simply radiates splendor from his throne. He is there to be adored by angels and humans.

***MERKAVAH* MYSTICISM AS A RELIGIOUS PHENOMENON.** Exactly what gave rise to *merkavah* literature and what is its purpose is a matter of debate. The term *mysticism* was first used to describe this phenomenon in the nineteenth century by scholars such as Heinrich Graetz and Phillip Bloch but was developed most fully by Gershom Scholem. In describing the phenomenon as *merkavah* mysticism Scholem argued that these stories of ascent derived from a practice of cultivating ecstatic visions of God through the chanting of numinous hymns and the rituals of preparation, which include social isolation, fasting, and ritual immersion. The rabbis of the narratives, by this account, were pseudepigraphic stand-ins for the authors, whose visions of God and the heavenly array were then recorded as the journeys undertaken by Rabbi ʿAqivaʾ and Rabbi Yishmaʿeʾl. Scholem further argued that the repetitious style, the rhythm, the profusion of synonyms, and the numinous descriptions of God and the angels in the hymns were meant to induce a state of trance in the mystic who chanted the hymns and thus were instrumental in producing the vision recorded in the texts. Scholem also argued that this phenomenon arose in the central circles of early rabbinic Judaism in the first few centuries CE.

Since the latter decades of the twentieth century, Scholem's thesis has come under question. While some scholars, such as Ithamar Gruenwald, maintain that *heikhalot* literature reflects a practice of ecstatic vision of the heavens, Martha Himmelfarb, in her study of ascent to heaven in ancient Judaism, asked whether this literature constitutes stories to be recited rather than rituals to be practiced. David Halperin, in his book *The Faces of the Chariot* (1988), argued that the ascent traditions in *heikhalot* literature were ancillary to the *Sar-Torah* traditions and that they were based on the midrashic motif of Moses' ascent. Michael Swartz has focused on the liturgical and ritual aspects of the literature and found that rituals of preparation accompany the *Sar-Torah* texts and not the ascent texts. Schäfer's synoptic edition of the major manuscripts shows that the texts take a wide variety of forms in various recensions, which argues against seeing each text as a unified account of an individual's experience. It has also been pointed out, by Himmelfarb and others, that there are distinct echoes of priestly piety in the literature. Scholem's thesis about the social location of the literature has also been questioned. Halperin argues that

the authors were members of the lower classes (corresponding to what the Rabbis called *ʿAm ha-ʾareó*), while Swartz is inclined to locate them in circles of a secondary elite. Whether or not the *heikhalot* literature yields direct evidence for an ancient mystical practice, it deserves attention as a rich source of myths, rituals, and conceptions of the divine and human that vary in significant ways from the classical literature of rabbinic Judaism.

SEE ALSO Apocalypse, articles on Jewish Apocalypticism to the Rabbinic Period and Medieval Jewish Apocalyptic Literature; ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef; Ashkenazic Hasidism; Elishaʿ ben Avuyah; Gnosticism; Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity; Yishmaʿeʾl ben Elishaʿ.

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MICHAEL SWARTZ (2005)

NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH. The "peyote way," which is over 15,000 years old, and the Native American Church, which is about 100 years old, are flourishing. The use of peyote started in what is now southern Texas and northern Mexico, the only region in the world where the peyote cactus, classified as *Lophophora Williamsii* (Anderson, 1980, chap 8), is found in its natural habitat. The Native American Church (NAC), which uses peyote in its rituals, is alive and growing despite many efforts to eradicate this powerful way of worshiping. The existence of the NAC is in large part due to the many individuals who have sacrificed and struggled on behalf of peyote use as a religious sacrament. One such individual is Spotted Tail of the Oglala Sioux, who was arrested along with other members of his band in 1868 while using peyote as part of a tepee ceremony. At that time, only "pipe carriers" were allowed in tipis that were being used in conjunction with peyote.

While Spotted Tail awaited adjudication in a stockade, a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) official advised him that if he told the court that he was conducting a church service, the court might allow him to continue the use of peyote in ceremonies. Spotted Tail did so, and the court granted the continued use of peyote in the context of a bona fide church service. There was one stipulation, however, made at that time by the BIA and the court: The participants could not use pipes in the ceremony. The newly formed United States government requested the removal of the sacred pipes from the peyote ceremony because government officials did not understand the role of the pipes, and they feared the use of the pipes in conjunction with the medicine (peyote). With the absence of sacred pipes, the participants began to use tobacco rolled in a cornhusk; by the beginning of the twenty-first century, however, tobacco is no longer always used in peyote ceremonies.

The Big Moon Ceremony, founded after 1800 by John Wilson, a Caddo roadman (Fikes, 1996), makes use of a large horseshoe-shaped, earthen altar. The altar is meant to represent the hoof print of the donkey that Jesus rode on Palm Sunday. A similar ceremony, called the Half-Moon Ceremony, derives its name from a crescent-shaped altar formed from earth inside the tepee. The Big Moon and Half-Moon ceremonies both include peyote use, and both reflect the influence of Native American culture and Christianity. Both ceremonial "ways" oppose the use of alcohol and drugs. The NAC does not view peyote as a drug. From the understanding of many indigenous peoples of North and South America, God did not create drugs; God created medicinal plants and herbs, but humans made drugs and alcohol.

Participants in both ceremonies use similar sacred instruments, and the ceremonies both perform the same functions for the people: baptisms, marriages, healing services, and other celebrations of life's milestones. Both ceremonies are all-night prayer services. The Big Moon Ceremony includes use of the Bible, which is placed at the top of the altar, and this ceremony does not incorporate tobacco use. In the

Half-Moon Ceremony, on the other hand, a peyote button or "Chief" is placed on the altar, and the service includes the use of tobacco.

The first recognized Native American church, called the First Born Church of Christ, was formed in Oklahoma in 1914 by Johnathan Kashiway, a Sac and Fox "Roadman" (a person who conducts an all-night prayer service). Tobacco was prohibited from church services, and it was not mentioned in the articles of incorporation (Hirschfelder and Molin, 1992, p. 193). In 1921 the Winnebago of Nebraska established the first charter outside of Oklahoma. Called the Peyote Church of Christ, the charter was amended in 1922, and the church name was changed to the Native Church of Winnebago, Nebraska. Other Native American churches were soon organized and chartered in South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Wisconsin, Iowa, Utah, and New Mexico.

In 1944, the Native American Church of Oklahoma changed its charter and name to the Native American Church of the United States, becoming the first national peyote organization (Smith and Snake, 1998). In 1955 the organization changed its name to the Native American Church of North America so that Canadian peyotists could attend services. Canadian Cree, Assiniboine, Ojibwa, and Blood Indians formed the Native American Church of Canada in 1954 in Red Pheasant, Saskatchewan.

The Native American Church of California and Nevada was established in 1954. In 1966 the Native American Church of Navaholand was formed; this church is independent of the Native American Church of North America. In 1970 and 1971 the NAC of Navaholand sought incorporation from the state of Arizona and was refused because of state opposition to the use of peyote. New Mexico agreed to incorporate the church in 1973. The NAC of Navaholand encompasses the country's largest group of peyotists.

Many independent peyote groups exist in the United States. The exact number of American peyotists is difficult to determine, but estimates are more than 250,000 and growing, as of 2004.

For many years, the NAC and its ritual use of peyote has suffered from the misconceptions of those outside the church who have tried to suppress it. Peyote is a small spineless cactus, and its ingestion is neither habit forming nor addictive, although it may produce nausea in some people. Within the NAC it is used only in sacred ceremonies.

It is said "sacred medicine" came to the people from a Grandmother. Her people were starving so she went into the desert to pray to the creator to have pity on them. While in the desert, a voice led her to peyote, who told her to partake of it. After eating it, this Grandmother was shown how to use peyote in ceremonies. She was instructed to take the "medicine" back to her people and to share it with them, so that they would live.

Opposition to peyote use dates back to at least 1620, when the Spanish Inquisition and the Catholic Church condemned it. Similar opposition by other European-based individuals and governments continued over the next four centuries. The Carrizo, Lipan, and Mescalero Apaches were probably the first to ingest peyote. The Tonkawa and Caddo Indians first experienced opposition to its use during the nineteenth century. Christians viewed the use of peyote as heathenism and began a campaign to wipe it out. They threatened to withhold food and imprison Native people who continued to use it.

In 1899, A. E. Woodson, a federal agent of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency in Darlington, Oklahoma, implemented the first statute banning the use of peyote in Indian territory (Stewart, 1993, p. 131). A number of Native ceremonies had been forbidden in earlier decades, but non-Native authorities often confused peyote with mescal bean (Anderson, 1980), and early decrees were made against the mescal bean, rather than peyote. For example, an 1890 directive from Bureau of Indian Affairs Commissioner Thomas Jay Morgan stated: "The Court of Indian Offenses at your agency shall consider the Use, Sale, Exchange gift or introduction of the Mescal Bean as a misdemeanor punishable under Section 9 [on intoxicants] of the rules governing the Court of Indian offenses" (Hirschfelder and Molin, 1992, p. 216).

During the 1900s anti-peyote laws were passed by fifteen states: Kansas (1919); Utah, Colorado, and Nevada (1917); Arizona, Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota (1923); Iowa (1925); New Mexico and Wyoming (1929); Idaho (1933); California (1959); New York (1965); and Texas (1967). Utah, Idaho, and North Dakota later amended their anti-peyote laws to permit peyote use as part of NAC religious ceremonies. Texas too amended its anti-peyote law in 1969. The new law, called the Texas Narcotics Law of 1969, addresses the possession and distribution of peyote by the NAC in ceremony. Anti-peyote laws in California and New York were aimed at non-Indian drug users. However, in 1996 Paul Skyhorse and Buzz Berry, both Native American members of the NAC, were arrested in Ventura County, California, for the transportation of peyote. Both men were incarcerated and their peyote confiscated, although they were later released, and the peyote was returned to them.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the legality of peyote-use varies from state to state. In 1994 the United States federal government amended the 1978 American Indian Religious Freedom Act to legalize peyote use as a religious sacrament throughout the country. The Supreme Court later voided the 1978 act and the 1994 amendments. Peyote use within the Native American Church is no longer protected by the federal government, and the church must rely on state protection (Anderson, 1996, p. 223).

To be a legally recognized chapter of the NAC, a charter has to be written and accepted by the state in which the chapter exists. In Texas, for example, this charter must be filed with the Texas Department of Safety and Transportation and the state of Texas Drug Enforcement Agency. After re-

ceiving verification from the state, the NAC chapter is free to purchase peyote from certified peyote distributors, who will ask to see a permit and an Indian identification card before the sale.

The leadership of the NAC is chosen every four years from the existing chapters represented by the various tribes and nations. Many states have more than one reservation, or even several Indian nations, within their boundaries, and thus more than one NAC chapter. For example, the Kiowa, Comanche, and Cherokee nations all exist on different reservations within the state of Oklahoma. These three nations have different charters and various NAC chapters within the boundaries of their Oklahoma reservations.

Annual national NAC conferences are held throughout the United States with representatives from the various chapters. Participants discuss issues faced by the NAC, such as proposed changes by the federal Drug Enforcement Administration regarding the harvesting of peyote, which affects its pricing and availability. Non-Indian participation in NAC ceremonies is also an issue, personally, socially, spiritually, and legally.

SEE ALSO Apache Religious Traditions; Native American Christianities.

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KENNETH LITTLEFISH (2005)

OXTOBY, WILLARD G. Willard Gurdon Oxtoby (1933–2003), one of the twentieth century's foremost scholars of comparative religion, was born on July 29, 1933, in Kentfield, California, across the bay from San Francisco. He died on March 6, 2003, in Toronto, Ontario, of colon cancer at the age of sixty-nine. Oxtoby was for twenty-eight years a professor of religious studies at the University of Toronto, where he became the founding director of the Centre for Religious Studies, the one center or institute, among the dozens devoted to religious study in this large international university, dedicated exclusively to the history and comparison of religions. The founding of this center completed the University of Toronto's credentials as one of the foremost resources for the study of religion in North America.

Oxtoby began his Bible studies at age five when his father, a professor of the Bible at a Presbyterian seminary, taught him the Twenty-third Psalm in Hebrew to encourage the elder Oxtoby's graduate Hebrew class. Initially, Oxtoby followed his father into biblical studies, training at Princeton (Ph.D. 1962) after his undergraduate major in philosophy at Stanford (B.A. 1955, Phi Beta Kappa). He spent two years in Jerusalem helping to prepare the Dead Sea Scrolls for publication, with his new wife Layla Jurji, the daughter of a Princeton Theological Seminary professor of comparative religion. With Layla, he began a family of two children, David (b.1960) and Susan (b. 1963). Oxtoby's dissertation was a critical edition of the inscriptions of pre-Islamic Arabia. His first teaching assignment was at McGill University in Montreal. But he soon realized the importance of Persian religion for Judaism and Christianity, so he entered Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on a postdoctoral fellowship to study Zoroastrianism and ancient Persian at the Center for World Religions under the stewardship of Wilfred Cantwell Smith.

After this fellowship, Oxtoby took up a position in Zoroastrianism and comparative religion at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1966. He taught at Yale for five years and then accepted a full professorship in 1971 at the prestigious Trinity College of the University of Toronto, where he remained until his retirement in 1999. His first assignment was to establish the internationally renowned Centre for Religious Studies, which he directed from 1976 to 1981.

In June 1980 Oxtoby's wife Layla died of cancer. The following year he began to study the Chinese language with his colleague Julia Ching, a collaboration that developed into his second marriage and a long-standing publishing partnership specializing in the comparison of Abrahamic faiths and Asian faiths. Julia predeceased him in 2001 after a long bout with cancer. Although his life contained more than its share of grief, much of it from disparate cancers among his loved ones, Oxtoby was able to conquer that sorrow with the solace that his own religion gave him.

In the course of his life Oxtoby was a member of countless professional organizations, including the Canadian Society for the Study of Religion, the Canadian Asian Studies Association, the American Academy of Religion, the American Oriental Society, and the Society for Values in Higher Education (formerly the Society for Religion in Higher Education). Of all his responsibilities, perhaps most satisfying to Oxtoby was his membership in and service to the American Society for the Study of Religion, an honorary society devoted to the comparison of religion. First elected in 1964, he served as secretary (1969), executive councilor (1984–1985), vice president (1985–1988), and president (1990–1993) of that organization.

Oxtoby's detailed knowledge of the languages, cultures, and history of world religions was unmatched. In the course of his career he authored, coauthored, and edited over a dozen books on disparate topics, ranging from pre-Islamic inscriptions; to *Experiencing India: European Descriptions and Impressions, 1498–1898*, a catalog for the 1998 exhibit of four hundred years of Indian publishing at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library of the University of Toronto; to *Sikh History and Religion in the Twentieth Century* (1988); to *Moral Enlightenment: Leibniz and Wolff on China* (1992). He is perhaps best known for editing the massive two-volume textbook *World Religions: Eastern Traditions* and *World Religions: Western Traditions* (1996/2002). As well as serving as the general editor of this work, he authored the sections on Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, Christianity, primitive religions, and modern developments. He used common terms for these religions as a matter of convenience (e.g., Eastern and Western religions) but argued strongly throughout the books against essentializing any religion, or seeing any religion in isolation from its social and historical setting, or ignoring the other religions with which it came into contact. When he died Oxtoby was actively engaged in a series of lectures as the American Academy of Religion Distinguished Lecturer in Comparative Religion for 2003 to 2004, showing how differently Islam developed as it encountered Persia, India, Africa, Europe, and North America. The lectures, had they been finished, were contracted for publication at Columbia University Press. Oxtoby's sudden and unexpected death also interrupted several other ambitious retirement projects, including a massive collection of Near Eastern texts spanning from the ancient beginning of civilization in that part of the world to modern Islam and the Israeli–Palestinian problem.

Oxtoby was a practicing Presbyterian and a minister of that denomination. He never thought of himself as anything other than a Christian, but he pioneered a comparativist Christianity rather than an exclusivist one. Oxtoby concluded in his 1983 book, *The Meaning of Other Faiths,* that "My Christianity, including my sense of Christian ministry, has commanded that I be open to learn from the faith of others."

SEE ALSO Ching, Julia.

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ALAN F. SEGAL (2005)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE. The appearance of periodical publications devoted to the study of religion, rather than to theology, missionary, or pastoral concerns, is inseparable from the institutionalization of the study of religion, which resulted in the establishment of the first chairs in the history of religions, beginning in 1873. An example of this is the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, founded in 1880, shortly after Albert Réville became the first professor of history of religions at the Collège de France, a process of institutionalization that would be solidified six years later with the creation of the Fifth Section, Sciences religieuses, of the École Pratique des Hautes Études. A similar development took place almost half century later in Italy when Raffaele Pettazzoni, appointed to the first Italian chair of history of religions in 1924, founded the journal *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* in 1925. Given the role played by the study of Asian religions in the development of the discipline, attention must be paid to the fact that the *Journal asiatique*, the oldest journal devoted to Asian studies, was founded in 1822, not long after the discoveries of Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron, Jean-François Champollion and William Jones, to mention just a few of the pioneers in the deciphering of ancient languages. The *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* followed suit in 1834, the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* in 1843, the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* in 1847, the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* in 1877 and *Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales* in 1882. What one encounters since the nineteenth century in terms of periodical publications on religion, then, is a situation that mirrors the debates that take place to this day: On the one hand, the assumption that insofar as one can determine the boundaries of "religion" as a phenomenon, one can also have periodical publications devoted exclusively to its study, journals that generally have words such as *religion* or *religione* as part of their titles. On the other hand, there is the realization that insofar as religion pervades the life of ancient and nonmodern contemporary cultures, its study must be carried out in publications such as the *Journal asiatique*, devoted to the history, philology and archaeology of those cultures, as well as in publications such as *American Anthropologist* or *Anthropos*, founded in 1888 and 1906, respectively.

If one examines the journals devoted specifically to the study of religion one finds that most of the early ones, besides publishing studies in the history of various religions, were concerned with theoretical issues such as the origins of religion, a topic that is only recently being studied again. One also realizes the precariousness of the academic conceptual apparatus, for now-abandoned terms such as *mana*, *tabu* and *totem*, were as current in the late nineteenth and early twenti-

eth centuries as *discourse*, *social construction* and *transgression* are in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. We find also that these journals, although open to foreign scholars, tended to publish work produced in a specific language—French in the case of the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, German in that of the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (1898–1942), and Italian in that of the *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*. This is a trend that continues in the case of periodicals established later in the twentieth century, such as the *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* (1948); *Kairos: Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie* (1959); *History of Religions* (1961); *Religion* (1971); *Religious Studies Review* (1975); the *Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft* (1993); and *Ilu, Revista de ciencias de las religiones* (1995), some of which are the publications of national associations. Exceptions to this trend are *History of Religions* (1961) and *Religion* (1971), two English-language journals that were conceived as international publications, rather than as the organs of a national association. Another exception, although in the opposite direction, is *Archæus: Études d'histoire des religions/Studies in the History of Religions* (1997), a Romanian journal that publishes studies in English, French and Italian. Scandinavian, rather than national or, strictly speaking, international, is *Temenos: Studies in Comparative Religion Presented by Scholars in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden* (1965). A special case is *Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses* (1971), published in the two official languages of Canada—English and French. Of the journals devoted to the history of religions, the only one that is both multilingual and international is the journal of the International Association for the History of Religions, *Numen: International Review for the History of Religions*, founded in 1954 by Pettazzoni.

The journals listed above tend to publish philological, historical and anthropological studies of religion, in some cases from a comparative perspective. Methodological, theoretical and meta-theoretical concerns are present, explicitly or implicitly, but they are not generally the focus of the articles. Specifically devoted to theoretical issues is *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* (*MTSR*, 1989), the official journal of the North American Association for the Study of Religion, a group of scholars concerned precisely with the theory of religion. The North American Association for the Study of Religion and *MTSR* constitute the theoretical, nonconfessional, counterpart to the American Academy of Religion, an organization that represents scholars of religion as well as theologians working in the United States. Its official publication began in 1933 as the *Journal of the National Association of Biblical Instructors*; in 1937 it changed its name to the *Journal of Bible and Religion*, becoming the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* (*JAAR*) in 1966. Unlike *MTSR* and the journals mentioned earlier, a typical issue of *JAAR* is likely to contain articles that deal with history of religions and theoretical issues, but also with philosophy of religion and "theological reflection." Among journals that deal with religion mainly from history of ideas, philosophical, and theological angles we may mention the *Journal of Religion* (1921) and *Religious Studies* (1965)—the latter, despite its name, being devoted almost exclusively to philosophy of religion and philosophical theology. On the other hand, the *Harvard Theological Review* (1908) publishes, despite its title, studies that deal with religion from theological and nontheological perspectives.

The tension between scholarly and theological approaches that has characterized the study of religion is present not only in the existence of journals such as *MTSR* and *JAAR*, or in the coexistence of historical, theoretical, philosophical, and theological articles in the pages of *JAAR*, but also in the trajectories of journals now devoted to the sociology of religion, some of which began as theological publications or as the publishing outlets of Catholic sociologists. A case in point is *Social Compass: Revue Internationale de Sociologie de la Religion/International Review of Sociology of Religion*, now the respected journal of the International Society for the Sociology of Religion/Société Internationale de Sociologie des Religions, which began in 1953 as a Catholic pastoral publication of a Thomist orientation. Similarly, *Sociology of Religion* began in 1940 as the *American Catholic Sociological Review*; the title was changed to *Sociological Analysis* in 1963, acquiring its current name in 1993. To be sure, not all sociology of religion periodicals have a theological background; it should be enough to mention the *Année sociologique*, the journal founded by Émile Durkheim in 1898, whose pages saw the publication of some of the most influential studies in the sociology of religion—studies by Durkheim, Marcel Mauss and Henri Hubert on the nature of religion, magic, and sacrifice. Three other important journals must be mentioned: *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, founded in 1956 as *Archives de sociologie des religions*, where one finds articles that approach religion from sociological and anthropological perspectives; the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* (1961), where one finds mainly quantitative studies of sociology and to a lesser extent psychology of religion; and the *Internationales Jahrbuch für Wissens- und Religionssoziologie*, published from 1965 to 1973 as the *Internationales Jahrbuch für Religionssoziologie*. An overview of research trends can be found in the *Annual Review of the Social Sciences of Religion* (1977). Changes in the religious landscape give rise to new journals; thus contemporary developments, such as New Age and, in general, noninstitutional forms of religion, are studied in *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions* (1997) and in *Implicit Religion* (1998). Occasionally one finds valuable contributions to the sociology of religion in general sociology journals, such as the *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie* (1949), the *British Journal of Sociology* (1950), and *Sociologus: Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologue und Soziologie/ Sociologus: A Journal of Sociology and Social Psychology* (1951).

Turning to anthropology, in addition to *American Anthropologist* and *Anthropos*, scholars of religion can find a wealth of material on the religions of small-scale societies, as

well as on topics such as mythology, ritual, and the theory of religion, in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (1995), previously published as *Man* (1901–1994); in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (1948); *Ethnohistory* (1954); *L'Homme: Revue française d'anthropologie* (1961); *American Ethnologist* (1974); *L'uomo: Società, tradizione, sviluppo* (1977); and *History and Anthropology* (1986). One of the aspects of religion to which anthropologists have paid a great deal of attention has been that of ritual, a component of religion discussed in many of the journals mentioned already, there being, in addition, a *Journal of Ritual Studies* (1987). Ritual constitutes a link among sociological, political, anthropological and psychological approaches to religion. To these disciplines one must now add cognitive and ethological approaches to ritual and to religion in general; contributions informed by these approaches can be found in history of religions and anthropology journals such as *Numen* and *Man*, and in the *Journal of Cognition and Culture* (2001). Specifically devoted to the psychology of religion are the *Archiv für Religionspsychologie/Archive for the Psychology of Religion* (1914) and the *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* (1991).

The religious practices of contemporary large-scale societies are sometimes examined in the periodicals mentioned above; more often, however, contemporary developments are studied in articles that, along with those devoted to historical and philological research, are published in journals devoted to Asian societies. In addition to the *Journal asiatique*, the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, and *Le Muséon,* mention should be made of *T'ung Pao* (established as *T'oung Pao* in 1890); the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* (1901); the *Rivista degli studi orientali* (1907); the *Rocznik orientalistyczny* (1914); the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1917); the *Archív orientální* (1929); the *Journal of Asian Studies* (1941, known until 1956 as the *Far Eastern Quarterly*); *Asiatische Studien/Études asiatiques* (1947); the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie* (1957); *A.I.O.N.: Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* (1979); and the *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* (1985)—all of which contain a wealth of articles dealing with all aspects of religion, from the ancient Near East to West, South, Southeast, Central, and East Asia. Most of these journals publish studies that deal from various perspectives with the religious traditions of India, as do all the history of religions journals mentioned earlier. In addition to those publications, mention should be made of *Indologica Taurinensia* (1973), which has published the proceedings of many of the World Sanskrit Conferences. The *Journal of Indian Philosophy* (1970), which because of its title one would expect to deal exclusively with the philosophical aspects of the Indian tradition, narrowly understood, contains valuable studies on the history of religions, including Buddhism. Articles dealing with the history, philosophy, archaeology, mythology and ritual practices of Buddhism can be found in most of the journals listed above. In addition, there are specialized publications, such as the *Journal of the Pali Text Society* (1882); the *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* (1932), where one finds Louis de La Vallée Poussin's still indispensable contributions; the *Indo-Iranian Journal* (1957), most of whose reviews were written by one of its two editors, the boundlessly erudite Jan Willem de Jong; the *Eastern Buddhist* (1966); the *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* (1978); the *Journal of Buddhist Ethics* (1994); and the *Journal of Global Buddhism* (2000).

The religions of East Asia are also dealt with in the publications already mentioned, as well as in specialized periodicals such as the *Journal of Chinese Religions* (1982). As in the case of the study of Indian religions, articles dealing with Chinese religion can be found in periodicals whose titles do not contain the term *religion*, such as the *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* (1973), *Early China* (1975), *Modern China* (1975), and *Early Medieval China* (1994). The issue of boundaries is not, however, confined to approaches or disciplines: It also involves sensitive political considerations regarding the status of a cultural/linguistic area; a case in point is Tibet, whose religion is more likely to be studied in the history of religions, Asian, and Buddhist studies journals mentioned above or in such periodicals as the *Central Asiatic Journal* (1955) or *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* (1988) than in those devoted exclusively to Chinese religions. Work on the religious traditions of Japan can be found in *Japanese Religions* (1959) and the *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* (1974, first published in 1960 as *Contemporary Religions in Japan*). Contributions to the study of African religions, on the other hand, are published in *Journal of African Religion/Religion en Afrique* (1967) as well as in the anthropology journals mentioned above. It is also in anthropology journals that one finds studies of Latin American religion; other valuable studies can be found in specialized publications such as the *Journal de la Société des américanistes* (1896) and the *Journal of Latin American Lore* (1975).

A mere list of the journals that deal with Christianity and, because of their role in the emergence of this religion, with Israelite and other Near Eastern religions, would exceed the length allotted to this entry. The same applies to periodicals devoted to the Greco-Roman world, a world whose philosophical, religious, and cultic vocabulary lives on in the languages of the West. Among the periodicals that publish studies of the religions of the Ancient Orient, along with those that deal with the writings canonized by Christians as the Old Testament, one may mention the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentalische Wissenschaft* (1881), *Orientalia* (1920), *Analecta orientalia* (1931), *Orientalia christiana periodica* (1935), *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatsiche Archäologie* (1886, published until 1938 as *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*), *Vetus Testamentum* (1951), *Orientalia suecana* (1952), *Oriens antiquus* (1962), *Altorientalische Forschungen* (1974) and the *Journal of Ancient Near*

Eastern Religions (2001). Studies of Greek and Roman religion are found in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* (1883); the *Journal for Hellenic Studies* (1880); *Gnomon: Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft* (1925); *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* (1958); *Arethusa* (1968); *Helios* (1974); *Classical Antiquity* (1982); *Metis: Revue d'anthropologie du monde grec ancien* (1988); and *Kernos: Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique* (1988). Studies of the early Christian world, in most cases in the context of the religions of late antiquity, can be found in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentalische Wissenschaft und die Kunde der ältere Kirche* (published from 1900 to 1920 as the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentalische Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums*); the *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* (1958, published as *Antike und Christentum, Kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Studien* from 1929 to 1950); *Vigiliæ Christianæ: A Revue of Early Christian Life and Languages* (1947); *Novum Testamentum* (1956); the *Journal of Early Christian Studies* (published as *Second Century* from 1981 to 1992); *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity* (1997); and the *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* (2000).

The world of medieval Christendom is the subject of a multitude of periodicals; some of them, such as the *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* (1926), are dedicated to the study, exegesis and, in some cases, promotion of Christian theological speculation, while others, such as *Le Moyen âge: Revue d'histoire et de philologie* (1888); the *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* (1967); *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (1970); and *Mediaevistk: Internationale Zeitschrift für interdisziplinäre Mittelalterforschung* (1988), approach medieval and early modern Christianity from historical and other perspectives. Among the journals that encompass the entire history of Christianity mention should be made of the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* (1877), the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (1900), *Church History* (1932), and the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* (1950). It goes without saying that given the role of Christianity in the history of the world, general history journals such as the *American Historical Review* (1895); the *Annales: Histoire, sciences sociales* (founded in 1929 as *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, later known as *Économies, sociétés, civilisations*); *Sæculum* (1950); and *Past and Present* (1952), regularly publish articles on the history of this religion.

Of the religions that emerged after Christianity, none is more important than Islam, a fact that is reflected in the number of publications devoted to its study. Among the journals dedicated to the study of the Islamic world, we may mention *Der Islam: Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients* (1910); *Die Welt des Islams: International Journal for the Study of Modern Islam* (1913); *Arabica: Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies/Revue d'études arabs et islamiques* (1954); *Annales islamologiques* (1954); *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* (1988); the *Journal of Islamic Studies* (1990); and the *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* (1996). More specialized periodicals include the *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* (1999); the *Journal of the History of Sufism/Journal d'histoire du soufisme* (2000); and the *Journal of Islamic Philosophy* (2003).

If one approaches the world of journals from the point of view of a given religious tradition, one realizes soon enough that, given the fluid boundaries of what constitutes "religion," in order to do justice to that tradition one must make use of journals in several disciplines—religion, anthropology, sociology, philosophy, and history, among others. But given the fact that religious traditions are not self-contained entities, one must also consult periodicals that deal with traditions and with geographical areas that border the cultures with which one is concerned. Thus, a scholar primarily interested in Indian Buddhism is likely to find relevant research in the *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, the *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, the *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, the *Indo-Iranian Journal*, the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd-Asiens*, and the *Journal asiatique*, as well as in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, *Numen*, *History of Religions*, *Religion*, and *Man*, not to mention periodicals that deal with Southeast and Central Asian cultures. Likewise, if one is interested in religions that predate the written record one needs to consult periodicals such as the *Journal of Indo-European Studies* (1973) and the *Journal of Prehistoric Religion* (1987), along with publications that deal with archaeology. On the other hand, if one pursues research in comparative religion or in theoretical issues from a comparative perspective, then the range of publications that are likely to contain material relevant to one's research is virtually unlimited. For example, research on religion from an ethological perspective would require consulting psychology and also biology and animal behavior periodicals.

Two issues must be mentioned when dealing with periodical literature. One of them involves the language of the contributions. Unlike periodicals devoted primarily to ancient religions and philologies, most of the religious studies journals published in the English-speaking world, France, Germany, or Italy have traditionally published articles in the languages of the country in question, *Numen* being one of the few journals that as a matter of policy publishes contributions in the main Western European languages—a fact not unrelated to the role of Dutch publishing houses since the time of the Reformation. The situation is now changing. Some of those changes would seem to be positive—as when, for example, one finds English articles in French and German journals, as this would seem to indicate an openness towards international scholarship. The truth is, however, that some of those articles have been written, for example, by French or German speakers who are forced to publish in English, for otherwise their work will not be read beyond the French- or German-speaking world. Even *Numen* now receives few submissions in languages other than English; the same being true of the *Archiv für Religionspsychologie/International Archive for the Psychology of Religion*, which de-

scribes itself as trilingual, but which also acknowledges that most of its articles are in English. It is true that Eastern European journals such as the *Rocznik orientalistyczny* have traditionally published articles in languages other than Polish, including some by Poles, such as the Buddhist scholar Stanislaw Schayer. This, however, did not involve a virtual linguistic monopoly such as the one we are witnessing today. Among the many dangers of this linguistic monopoly is that the research of authors who publish in languages other than English will be ignored, as articles are not generally translated after they have appeared in a journal. In addition, even if everything were to appear in English and everyone were able to read that language, the vast amount of work published in a variety of languages since the first scholarly periodicals saw the light of day would become as inaccessible as if they had been inscribed in cuneiform script. The situation regarding reviews is even more grave, as some English-language journals do not review books published in languages other than English. An example of this systematic ignoring of scholarship is the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, where one would look in vain for reviews of important theoretical and historical works published in languages such as French, German, and Italian. Such scandalous neglect both reflects and perpetuates the provincialism of the North American discussion in various fields of scholarship in religion, especially in the area of theory of religion, a field in which, with the exception of research on religion and cognition, the most interesting work is not being done in English.

Even more urgent is the issue of price. Periodicals usually have different rates for individual and for institutional subscribers, the cost for individuals being substantially lower. In either case, however, the prices are increasing. As a result of the concentration of ownership, the situation is more dire in the case of the sciences, but even journals in the humanities and social sciences are being priced beyond the reach of many institutions, even in rich countries, not to mention individual scholars. This is a problem beyond the control of the contributors and also of the editors of existing journals. The situation is complicated by the growth in the number of academics, the increase in specialized research, and, not least, the need to publish in order to maintain one's academic position and, increasingly, even to obtain an entry-level one. Fortunately, the situation is being ameliorated by the electronic availability of periodicals; but it must be noted that such availability presupposes an institution's electronic subscription to a periodical as well as the availability of computers.

SEE ALSO Festschriften; Reference Works.

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Because of the constant appearance of new journals, surveys of periodical publications become outdated as soon as they are published. Keeping that in mind, as well as the fact that encyclopedia articles dealing with journals tend to focus on those that deal with theological, biblical and Christian themes, one can consult the entries "Zeitschriften: I. Evangelische, II. Katholische," in the third edition (1962) of *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, vol. 6, col. 1885–1881 (the entry in the fourth edition, scheduled for completion in 2005, will include references to humanities, social sciences, and religious studies journals); "Zeitschriften, Theologische" in the *Theologische Realenziklopädie* vol. 36, 2004, pp. 615–625, as well as "Periodical Literature" in the first edition of the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 11, pp. 243–246. See also the *Bulletin signalétique 519: Philosophie, sciences religieuses* and the *Bulletin signalétique 527: Histoire et Sciences des Religions* (Paris), as well as the *Zeitschriften Verzeichnis Theologie* (Universität Tübingen, 1977). Other sources include *Guide to Social Science and Religion in Periodical Literature* (Flint, Mich., 1965); John Regazzi, *A Guide to Indexed Periodicals in Religion* (Metuchen, N.J., 1975); David Westerfer, *Les revues en sciences religieuses: éléments pour un programme international de recherches, liste de base des revues* (Strasbourg, 1976); Otto Lankhorst, *Les revues de sciences religieuses: approache bibliographique internationale*, Strasbourg, Cerdic, 1979; Michael J. Walsh, *Religious Bibliographies in Serial Literature: A Guide* (Westport, Conn., 1981); J. P. Cornish, *Religious Periodicals Directory* (Santa Barbara, Calif., 1986); Eugene C. Fieg, *Religion Journals and Serials: An Analytical Guide* (New York, 1988); James Dawsey, *A Scholar's Guide to Academic Journals in Religion* [ATLA Bibliography Series 23] (Metuchen, N.J., and London, 1988); and Willem Audenaert, *Clavis foliorum periodicorum theologicorum* (Louvain, Belgium, 1994).

GUSTAVO BENAVIDES (2005)

POLITICS AND RELIGION: POLITICS AND JUDAISM

The Jewish religion is foundationally political. God is imagined by means of a religious language replete with political roles (king, warrior, judge) and political relations (ruling, lawgiving, providing). Central to the Jewish religion is a law that mediates revelation addressed to an elected people. And history is marked by the polar extremes of exile and messianic redemption. These themes are succinctly encapsulated in the preamble to the Sinaitic covenant in which God addresses the newly redeemed people of Israel that have exited Egypt with the following calling: "Now then, if you will obey Me faithfully and keep My covenant, you shall be My treasured possession among all the peoples. Indeed, all the earth is Mine, but you shall be to Me a kingdom of priests and a Holy nation" (*Ex.* 19:5–6, New JPS). Israel is envisaged as a kingdom and a nation.

From the moment this religion is conceived of as a religion of a people, as a religion in which individuals approach God from within a congregation, Judaism is conceived of as a political project. Election, covenant, law, prophecy, priesthood, monarchy, and redemption all emanate from this religio-political core. Furthermore, over its continuing history, the Jewish religion and the Jewish people have created various religious and political institutions and regimes (monarchies, communities, and a nation-state). These in turn have

generated a variety of claims to authority, divine and human, Jewish and Gentile, sacred and worldly. These positions have received articulation in texts that have undergone the painstaking process of continuous redaction and canonization over millennia. The basic Judaic narrative structure of election in terms of exile and redemption has been reiterated time and again in Western history by national movements and liberation movements, as indeed has been the role of the prophet as a divinely inspired social critic.

It should be noted that the foundational texts of Judaism predate the sharp distinction between *politics* and *religion.* The term *politics* is Greek in origin. In medieval Hebrew it is translated *medini* from *medinah*, city, and is used in modern Hebrew for "state." The closest word to politics as a domain of activity in biblical Hebrew is probably *melukhah* or *malkhut*, both meaning kingship, or *memshalah*, governance (cf. the distinction in *2 Chron.* 19:11 between "matters of the Lord" and "matters of the king"). The former two may signify the general activity of governance but are distinctively monarchic. The medieval and modern Hebrew equivalent of the Latinate *religion* is *dat*, law. Prior to medieval theological reconstructions of Judaism such terms were not used as organizing concepts. Our present use of them is for analytic purposes but the cultural relativity of these concepts should be kept in mind.

Rather than claim a unified political theory of Judaism the present discussion limits itself to an examination of a set of tensions characterizing this core itself as expressed in the canonical presentation of foundational texts. It will not address all manners of power relations and domination but rather focus on the institutional organization of polity and nation and then turn to the core value of justice echoing throughout Judaic canonical texts.

Theocratic and Secularizing Conceptions of Politics. The political nature of theology in Jewish religious discourse generates a set of tensions and problems regarding the legitimacy of human politics that permeate most layers of historical Judaism. The politicization of theology that claims political agency for God affects the very possibility of human political agency. Human initiative in political action, the founding of human institutions, and the possibility of rational comprehension of political events is thus constantly problematized in this religious tradition: "For My plans are not your plans, nor are My ways your ways—declares the Lord. But as the heavens are high above the earth, so are My ways high above yours and My plans above your plans" (*Is.* 56:8–9).

This voice, however, is only a partial representation of the political complexity of the Jewish political tradition. Thematically speaking, we may distinguish between two fundamental trends regarding politics in the canonical texts of the Jewish religion. The first trend, which may indeed be termed *theocratic*, views politics and political agency as a divine prerogative. Josephus coined the term *theocracy*:

> There is endless variety in the details of the customs and laws, which prevail in the world at large. To give but a summary enumeration: some peoples have entrusted the supreme political power to monarchies, others to oligarchies, yet others to the masses. Our lawgiver, however, was attracted by none of these forms of polity, but gave to his constitution the form of what—if a forced expression be permitted—may be termed a "theocracy," placing all sovereignty and authority in the hands of God. (*Contra Apion*, 164–167)

In contradistinction to the Mishnaic notion of *malkhut shamayim*, the kingdom of heaven (*Berakhot* 2:2), which denotes a normative space whose authority and yoke a person accepts in the daily recitation of the *shema*, Josephus's theocracy is an institution: It is not a regimen, it is a regime. Josephus's theocratic conceptualization of the Sinaitic regime is developed again in the pre-Enlightenment political philosophy of early modernity by such thinkers as Thomas Hobbes (*Leviathan,* chap. 35), Barukh Spinoza (*Theological-Political Treatise,* chap. 17), and John Locke (*Letter Concerning Toleration,* p. 73). These thinkers reexamined the biblical conception of politics in their efforts to articulate a theory of legitimacy for the modern republic. The theocratic conception of Judaism was developed again in the twentieth century. Martin Buber developed Spinoza's favorable description of the pure theocracy of ancient Israel, arguing in his *Kingship of God* for an anarchistic conception of a holy community. Buber argues his point historically, but his position provides a utopian articulation to his own dialogical religious philosophy. On the other hand, and following Hobbes's and Spinoza's critique of religion, Gershon Weiler's *Jewish Theocracy* critically equates theocracy with clerical power and portrays it as inimical to democratic civil society.

Human attempts to assume political agency are viewed on the theocratic account as an act of hubris and as idolatrous insofar as they express the usurpation of a divine attribute. Theocratic positions assume that there are select human beings who have some form of direct access to God's will and often maintain that divine rule is not exercised directly by God but by human intermediaries. This latter point is emphasized by critics of theocracy, among them Spinoza, who argue that theocracy in effect, means not the reign of God but the rule of his human representatives.

The second trend, no less authentic to the Jewish religious tradition, may be termed a "secularizing" trend; it views politics as a worldly activity and as a legitimate human endeavor. Rather than serve as a radical alternative, theology on this account variously sets boundaries, guides and affirms the human exercise of power; it may either curtail human power or legitimate it.

Politics, on the secularizing account, is a human and worldly affair. Ensuring the king does not become a god does not necessitate turning God into a king. Theocracy, argue its worldly critics, leads either to anarchy or to a clerical despotism. The biblical critique of theocracy finds its expression both in the Pentateuch and in the Prophets. The overall nar-

rative structure of the book of *Numbers* can be construed as an antitheocratic argument according to which even Moses, the first and foremost of prophetic leaders, was incapable of generating stable political leadership. Similarly, the book of *Judges* can be read to argue that the loose tribal federation of premonarchic Israel led to an anarchy typified by the three cardinal sins: idolatry, bloodshed, and sexual license. "In those days there was no king in Israel, everyone did as he pleased" (*Jgs.* 21:25).

The founding moment of worldly politics is the description of the creation of the monarchy in *1 Samuel* 8. Human political agency is asserted in the initiative to constitute a regime. And although God in this chapter expresses reservations concerning the very enterprise, Samuel the prophet is directed to heed the people all that they ask. This worldly conception of politics is echoed in classic future discussions. The Mishnah places the king beyond the reach of the human representative of divine law: "The king neither judges, nor is he subject to judgment" (*Sanhedrin* 2:3). Kings are necessary for social existence, and in what can be read as a rebuke of prophetic political subversion, the Mishnah seems to maintain the position that bad kings are better than no kings. This form of realism was followed by the mainstream of rabbinic decisors in the Middle Ages. It finds its fullest theoretical expression in Moses Maimonides, who codifies this ruling in his *Mishneh Torah* and in the *Guide of the Perplexed.* Maimonides begins his discussion of *halakhic* regimentation in the latter, citing Aristotle's maxim "man is political by nature" (II: 40). Human political association is ultimately grounded in our worldly, rational character as a species.

The secularizing conception of politics ultimately carries the day in biblical political history the moment a monarchy was constituted in ancient Israel. Moreover, the founding of the Davidic monarchy radically altered the Jewish religion. It created Jerusalem as its capital city with a permanent Temple, and implanted the messianic idea that would ultimately form the horizon of Jewish historical self-understanding.

Yet given the deep roots of both these conflicting tendencies in the Jewish religion a general characterization is in place. Jewish politics has traditionally a worldly base that must always negotiate the holy—especially when it finds expression in the form of a theocratic impulse—as part of its politics. The question whether the sacred will curb human violence or sanction it ought to be a central standard for judging political theologies. The long history of Jewish communal existence has indeed given rise to various such political theologies for legitimizing authority by means of the adequate channeling of the sacred. Some predate the exile, such as the Davidic political theology, and some serve to justify the renunciation of power of an exilic community. The great medieval theolgians such as Judah Halevi, Maimonides and Moses Nahmanides all provided theological-political paradigms as an integral element of their work. Among the basic strategies for negotiating the theocratic impulse that can be discerned in Jewish political history three are especially pertinent. One is biblical and monarchic and the other two are modern and relate to the modern project of the secularization of culture. The two latter models are especially important in understanding the major forms of Jewish political life in modernity. First is the diasporic Jewish community that lacks political autonomy and whose members are citizens of the non-Jewish hosting republican civil society. Second is the Jewish secular nation-state of Israel.

The Davidic recasting of theology. The foremost monarchic dynasty of ancient Israel deeply affected the entire theological structure of the Jewish religion. Central to the theory of legitimacy of the house of David is a political theology whose purpose is to recast the role of the sacred in Jewish theology. This new theology receives its clearest biblical articulation in the "royal" psalms (e.g., *Ps.* 2, 89). Although the king is not conceived as a deity as in the Mesopotamian or Egyptian models, he is a pivotal figure politically and religiously. The king is God's anointed one (Heb., *mashiah*; "messiah" in its anglicized form), his inheritance, and his son. The covenant with the people of Israel now passes through him. Whereas in earlier texts the covenant is conditional upon its performance, in its Davidic form it is eternal. The Temple of Jerusalem is founded by this dynasty in its capital city and operates under its auspices. Theology here provides the legitimating basis of monarchy and dynasty.

Spinozistic sovereign supremacy. Spinoza views the sovereign to have supreme authority over all public expressions of religion. The sovereign himself is not a religious figure, but no sovereign can afford to remain indifferent to religion. Therefore it is the role of political theology to provide religious support for the democratic secular republic as the best means to further peace and security. His biblical criticism aside, Spinoza believed the Bible is well equipped to provide such support to the republic because the political history it includes depicts the original covenant of God and Israel as a democratic social contract.

Zionist appropriation of national history and destiny. The Zionist movement of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries argued that there was no place for Jews in a Europe made up of nation-states and called for the creation of a Jewish nation-state in the land of Israel (Palestine) as the only viable solution to the plight of Jews in Europe. It was primarily a movement of secular Jews that called for a repudiation of traditional Jewish exilic historical passivity. Zionism provides a classic model of the modern appropriation of traditional theological models by secular states and political movements. Although it was primarily a secular movement, its appropriation of responsibility for the national destiny of Jews and its discourse of redemption enabled it to change the political forms of Jewish life. The movement succeeded in creating the State of Israel and was imagined by many Jews in the twentieth century to be a carrier of national historical identity. Zionism is thus a unique model of secular political theology that appropriates the salient political features of a

theological tradition without (so it hoped) its sacral and theistic components.

JUSTICE AS A CORE VALUE. The commitment to justice as a core value is derivative of the very political character of the Jewish religion, for justice is the criteria for evaluating the basic institutions of society and the exercise of power and its distribution. The Abrahamic theology of the tetragrammaton is presented in the book of *Genesis* in terms of a moral commitment. God singles out Abraham as one who will "instruct his children and his posterity to keep the way of the Lord [= tetragrammaton] by doing what is just and what is right" (18:19). God's way is the way of justice and of righteousness and this is repeated throughout the Bible and the rabbinic tradition.

Two main avenues are developed in the Judaic tradition to ensure justice. The first is law. The centrality of law in the Jewish religion reflects the reasoned organization of divine authority and social structure. The rulelike character of law ensures generality and equality before the law (cf. *Nm.* 15:16–17) and minimizes arbitrariness. The foundation of the law is the covenant that ensures the inclusivity of society and the grounds of acceptance (cf. *Dt.* 29:9–28).

The second is the prophet who gives voice to the suffering of injustice in society and rebukes the violence of unbridled power. Many prophets are often characterized by their noninstitutional role and at times subversive stance with regard to the reigning powers. Indeed the prophetic posture and its attendant divinely charged rhetoric have been reiterated throughout history (consider such diverse twentieth-century figures as Martin Luther King Jr. or Abraham Joshua Heschel). Caution, however, is due in identifying prophecy with social criticism. For although prophets often did fulfill such a role they also engaged in promoting the divinely sanctioned foreign policy as they understood it to be over and against the realpolitik of human monarchs (see, e.g., *Is.* 10:5–20, chaps. 36–39).

Perhaps it is the tension between institutionalized law and charismatic prophecy that leads the Bible to construct the image of Moses as a prophetic lawgiver spanning both these roles in his person. A different form of this combination may be seen in the traditional portrayal of David as an inspired king. The vitality of these synthetic combinations can be seen echoed again in such leadership roles as that of the Hasidic *tsaddiq* millennia later in early modernity. They also reflect the need to combine divine claims, justice, and legitimacy in a viable worldly politics.

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MENACHEM LORBERBAUM (2005)

PRIMITIVISM is an ideological position that developed in Western civilization in order to characterize subjugated people as "other." Even though the term *primitive* has been used for an extensive period, it has been particularly important since the beginning of modernity and the Age of Discovery. During this time its influence has been pervasive, with dramatic and often traumatic consequences on the cultural developments of both "civilized" and "primitive" peoples.

From the beginning of cultural contact with Europeans, other people of the world were characterized as "primitive." Since 1492, however, the term has expressed an ambiguity. On one hand, the idea of *primitivism* was initially utilized as a way to justify conquest and colonial exploitation of a variety of human beings. On the other hand, *primitivism* referred to a way of forming a Protestant Christian response to the authority of the Catholic Church.

The most prevalent uses of the term *primitive* in the fifteenth century relate to the early Christian church. The "primitive church" has been a positive conceptualization in the West of a communal organization of like-minded Christians whose society was untarnished by the corruptive influences of civilization. Primitive Christianity has been a dominant mythological formulation of European groups who were oppressed in their cultural situations. This mythology fueled a push toward establishing new communal, or utopian, experimental communities in various parts of the world around a more directly inspired form of Christian devotion.

The development of Protestant Christianity corresponded with the Age of Discovery. In response to perceived abuses in Rome, Protestants, primarily in Northern Europe, formed a different understanding of a Christian community. Ironically it has only been in the context of large colonial enterprises, and particularly in the British Empire, that such groups could materially achieve their dream of establishing a primitive Christian community. Such is the case with the Puritans in North America, for example. Conceptually, the notion of primitivism underscores a cultural feature in the development of Christianity in Europe, where there is an emphasis on, and yearning for, the origins of the church. While initially this might be seen as a contradictory use of *primitivism,* there is actually a unity between a yearning for the pristine state of the "primitive" Christian community and colonial exploitation of people who have been characterized as primitive.

Primitivism, therefore, in its first more positive meaning, is directly associated with what is "primary" for proper life. Locating where to promote this sort of Christianity proved more of a dilemma. The utopian character of the primitive develops from an ongoing search for God in Europe. For Europeans the conceptual dilemma with Christianity as the basis of authority was displacement. From the time of the conversion of Europe, beginning in the eleventh century, through the Crusades and into the Renaissance and the early modern period, European kingdoms based their hierarchical authority on the God-Man, Jesus Christ, whose people, language, and culture were in a foreign land. Christ's miraculous appearance in the world had taken place in a now foreign place that was controlled by non-Christian people. The origins of Christianity, and therefore its power to authorize Europeans to extend its message around the world, were in some other place under the control of "primitives." The irony of the ideology of primitivism is a foundational feature in the development of Western Christianity. On one hand primitivism is associated with a utopian vision of the original church. On the other hand primitivism is associated with those non-Christians who have dominion over the lands and resources necessary for the "correct" propagation of the faith.

Primitivism has been valued positively as that which is primary or fundamental to meaningful human community. It has also been used as an oppositional structure upon which "civilization" has been built. A double-edged understanding of the primitive has been extended by academics interested in conceptualizing the origins of religion. In general, academics in this area have valued the primitive to such an extent that their theories have been seen as disparaging of civilization, or the very cultural formulation that makes scholarly reflection possible. In anthropology, E. B. Tylor, Bronislaw Malinowski, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, and Arthur Lovejoy are examples of major theorists of religion who have appealed to seemingly primary appearance in what were regarded as the most basic religious formulations in primitive people. Scholars credited with having founded entire academic disciplines have utilized the idea of the primitive to understand the general phenomenon of religion in areas of philosophy (William James), psychology (Sigmund Freud, C. G. Jung), religious studies (Mircea Eliade), sociology (Émile Durkheim), political science (Max Weber), and economics (Karl Marx).

There is, therefore, a gap between the Western conception of primitive religions (articulated here as *primitivism*) and the experience of empirical others that have undergone Western imperialism. There have been ongoing attempts by scholars, activists, and members of indigenous communities to more accurately account for their conceptualization as "primitive" as a strategy to devalue and discount a tremendously rich and varied array of traditional knowledge. Acknowledging the cultural limits of knowing about other religions, and particularly in the Western academy, would include considering the dilemma of writing about others who do not write. Writing, a scholarly activity with direct association to the "Great religions" of the West, has often had dramatically negative consequences for indigenous traditions, or those people that have not organized their religious practices around sacred books.

How then do *indigenous* people (the preferred term for people who were once characterized as *primitive*) understand the role of religion in their traditions? Often they point out that there is no clearly decipherable element of their society that could be called "religion." Rather, a sacred reality permeates all aspects of their lives. The category of "religion" therefore does violence to the integrity of their traditions. Religion did not rise from a "worship of nature" but from the sacred reality embedded in the material world. The hierophany (i.e., manifestation of the sacred) in the natural world refers to the manner in which animals, plants, the sky, and the landscape reveal modalities of reality to human beings. Even though these phenomena also have utilitarian value, this does not explain why "religious" veneration is an important component of dealing with them.

The oldest deities in most cultures are sky-gods. The sky expresses eternity, infinity, and transcendence. Wilhelm Schmidt refers to this as "primitive monotheism." Even though sky-gods form an important component of ancient religious practice, they nevertheless are *dei otiosi*, seen as being removed from direct contact with the material world. As a result, veneration of sky-gods is often regarded as less urgent than veneration of those deities that populate an immediate environment.

Animals, which were venerated at prehistoric sites from Paleolithic through Neolithic times, are another venue for hierophany. The use of animal bones for divination ceremonies, and cave paintings of animals in all parts of the world, including Europe, has been understood as magico-religious. The pursuit of game animals not only required great skill, training, and courage, but also that the hunter negotiate with the animal through ceremonial means. "Bear magic" among the Ainu of Japan and the early Paleolithic people of Western Europe, for example, referred to strategies to connect human beings with the spiritual beings of animals. Not only would bear magic ensure a successful hunt, but it would also ensure that the bear would continue to make itself available as food. Carvings and cave paintings from all over the world represent animals and are bound up with hunting culture. Various levels of exchange ranging from the material/pragmatic to the magico/spiritual developed between humans and animals. For indigenous people there is no essential break between the two, yet for more "civilized" people these levels of exchange form the basis of the distinct character of "religion."

In Western scholarship much attention has been paid to "primitive totemism." From Freud to Durkheim to Eliade, the totem has been seen as a dominant mythic/symbolic force in the organization of "primitive" society. Two features have been most pronounced about the totem. First, the existence and identity of a human group is inextricably linked with a particular animal in a clan or ceremonial complex. Second, there are various rules of behavior (taboos) that surround the totem animal. For the history of religions, however, it is enough to acknowledge that around the totem animal there is understood to be a sacred power, and the continued existence of the human community materially and spiritually is linked to this animal.

Plants have also been an important element in the religious understanding of the natural world. The transition from the Paleolithic to Neolithic ages is defined, to a great extent, by the creation of new understandings of the relationships between human and plant life. Agriculture brought into being a structure of the sacred. The emphasis was on dying and resurrecting gods (such as Adonis, Attis, and Osiris, according to James Frazer). When the structure of the sacred is seen as representative of the life of plants, then the manifestations of that sacred power, as with all living beings, must also undergo death and resurrection.

Lunar symbolism is also associated with the periodicity of life in all of its forms, including human. But these innovations should not be seen as a natural consequence of the development of agriculture. Rather, these religious discoveries, or new hierophanies, were the result of the "new world" that was created with the domestication of plants and animals. In addition, the fertility cycle of the earth (including the agricultural and seasonal cycles) was directly connected to the periodicity of human life. Birth and new birth ceremonies mark the beginning of the agricultural cycle, while death and ancestor veneration are generally connected with the harvest and the end of the agricultural cycle. The earth as mother is a truly ancient understanding. Much Western scholarship on primitivism emphasizes how the nurturing quality of the earth as mother is a "primary" or "archaic" religious formulation.

In discussions of primitivism specific categories are advanced as universal among "primitive people." These often include the understanding of the leadership of ancient empires as "theocracies" in which the power of the priest is combined with the power of the warrior. The kingly lineages of Europeans are often fused with the chief of "tribal societies." The other office among "primitives" was understood to be the *shaman,* a term that originated from Siberian peoples but has been applied to indigenous people all over the world. In general, Western scholarship has designated the offices of king, chief, shaman, and medicine man (as well as more pejorative terms like *witch-doctor*) to "primitive" societies. The reality, however, is much more complex. Indigenous terms for leadership positions reflect a tremendous variety of relationships. For example, the Haudenosaunee term for chief is *royaner* (in Mohawk), which means "good mind" and refers to a person whose principal responsibility is to speak well enough so that people will overcome their conflicts. This is a far cry from the popular understanding of the chief who rules by brutish physical power. Simply adopting categories that have been universalized to suit all indigenous people tends to diminish what is unique and important about each group. Rather than looking to construct the universal of "primitivism," the tendency now is to utilize the local insights of various groups as social critiques of Western assumptions and to appreciate the cultural insights of indigenous people.

But Western scholars have been largely correct in emphasizing the importance of a leader's relationship with the sacred. In general the leader of local, indigenous communities can be seen as an intermediary of some kind, often an intermediary between several different communities of beings. In this sense the sacred for indigenous people has been a consistent example of the efficacy and power of religion. Several authors throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have emphasized the unadulterated influence that the sacred has had on "primitive societies." The sacred is seen as a powerful reality, as with *mana* among Melanesians, *orenda* for the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois), and *wakanda* for the Lakota (Sioux). All of these concepts are similar and yet distinct from one another. Power in material forms is just one aspect of these indigenous understandings.

The conceptualization of primitivism has played a vital role in the organization and characterization of civilization. This has had dramatic consequences for the development of modernity and often traumatic consequences for those deemed "primitive." On the one hand the "primitive" are often seen as wholly in touch with their surroundings, and as a result they are imagined to be more "religious" than modern human beings. This is in spite of the fact that it is often understood that "primitive societies" have no notion of "religion" per se. Because modernity has to cope with both the fictive status of the "primitive" of its own fabrication and with the empirical other of indigenous peoples with whom it has come into contact, one often gets mixed messages about these groups. The solution for gaining a more reliable knowledge of indigenous or local cultures and people, however, is not simply to go into the field (as anthropologists do). The fictive status of the "primitive" is too strongly entrenched in the modern imagination for it to be shaken loose by coming face-to-face, so to speak, with the "primitive." Rather, one has to incorporate the cultural dimensions of the interreligious contact and negotiation that has occurred over the last five hundred plus years for an adequate picture of indigenous religions to emerge.

SEE ALSO Colonialism and Postcolonialism; Materiality; Orientalism; Shamanism, overview article, and article on Neoshamanism.

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RAMAKRISHNA [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS].

Gadādhar (or Gadai) Chattopadhyay was born into a poor *brahman* priest family of Kamarpukur, an obscure village some sixty miles northwest of Calcutta in the state of West Bengal. He studied in his village school from the age of five till his seventeenth year, and later, at the *ṭol* (traditional elementary school for Sanskrit learning) of his elder brother in Rāmkumār in Calcutta. Though not totally illiterate he was practically uneducated; he never read any scriptures, though he was fond of reading stories about the holy men and *bhaktas* (devotees) of Viṣṇu and copied out four religious dramas as well as a portion of the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*, in Krittivas Ojha's translation. Possessed of prodigious memory, the boy also memorized a number of devotional songs *(kīrtanas)* and recitations of sacred poems *(kathās)* by the itinerant troubadours of Bengal.

Gadādhar earned a reputation in his village as an ecstatic when, at the age of seven, he reportedly fell into a trance at the sight of flying cranes in a cloudy sky. Later, in an open-air theater, he fell into a trance while enacting the part of Lord Śiva. His reputation for momentarily losing consciousness made people regard him as a divinely endowed child. A few years later, when the adolescent Gadādhar was appointed as the priest of the Kālī temple at Dakshineshwar, some five miles north of Calcutta, his ecstasies were accompanied by crazy behavior. His mother and his village neighbors, as well his employers, Rani Rasmani, owner of the Dakshineshwar temple, and her son-in-law Mathuranath Biswas, the temple

manager, attributed this behavior to his celibacy and counseled marriage. The twenty-three-year-old Gadādhar was married to a six-year-old girl named Sāradāmaṇi from the village of Jairambati. When his symptoms persisted, he was treated by some native naturopaths *(vaidyas or kavirājas)* and by a roving *bhairavī* (female practitioner of rituals in Tantric circles or *chakras*) named Yogeśvarī, whose diagnosis was that he was afflicted with divine madness *(divyonmattata)*. The acme of this state was reached during his training under a Vedāntic monk named Ishwara Totāpurī from the Punjab, when he underwent an undifferentiated state of enstasis in which all diversities disappeared into an undifferentiated oneness *(nirvikalpa samādhi)*. Gadādhar now graduated from his training and assumed, probably at the behest of his mentor, the new name Ramakrishna, as well as the honorific title of *thakur* (master).

RAMAKRISHNA'S ECLECTICISM. Ramakrishna proclaimed that anyone who could become dependent on God, like a little child on its parents, could realize God as personal (*sākāra* or "with form") or impersonal (*nirākāra* or "formless"). In Ramakrishna's terms, one should try to realize God not by reading the scriptures to acquire divine knowledge (as a *jñānī)* but by becoming able to see, touch, and converse with God through pure devotion (as a *vijñānī).* His favorite deities from the Hindu pantheon were Kṛṣṇa, the great lover, and Kālī, the terrible but tenderhearted black Mother Goddess. He had been so desperately eager to see the Goddess Kālī (sometime during the 1856 to 1867 period) that he attempted to kill himself. During the period of his sweet or erotic devotional state *(madhurabhava),* around 1867 to 1871, he felt a deep longing for Kṛṣṇa as if he were Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa's principal consort.

Ramakrishna's religious eclecticism was expressed in his saying "*yato mat tato path*" ("as many views, so many venues"). This sentiment, already known from the *Mahimna Stotra* and from the *Bhagavadgītā*'s statements about unity in diversity, distanced Hinduism simultaneously from Brāhmoism within Indian society and Christian evangelicalism outside it. It was a statement of his conviction that the various Hindu sectarian practices and beliefs were valid pathways to realize the *Advaita Brāhmaṇ* or *Chinmayi Srisrijagadamba* (the Twice-Blessed Mother of the Universe Consciousness) (Mriganand a, 1994, pp. 17, 19).

Ramakrishna's syncretic devotionalism was such that he could become in turn a Śākta, a Vaiṣṇava, an Advaitin, or a follower of yoga*, bhakti,* and *jñāna*. Going beyond Hinduism, he set aside Hindu ways while he prayed to Allah after the manner of the Muslims. Moreover, after he beheld a polychrome reproduction of Raphael's *Madonna and the Child* at the garden retreat of Yadunath Mullick, he "felt disinclined even to see Hindu deities, not to speak of saluting them, inasmuch as the Hindu mode of thought vanished altogether from [his] mind"; his "love and devotion to the Devas and Devis vanished, and in their stead, a great faith in, and reverence for Jesus and his religion occupied his mind." He even claimed that his *sādhana* in Christian faith was facilitated by the Twice-Blessed Mother of the Universe (Saradananda, vol. 1, 1983–1984, pp. 299, 338–339). For him, then, God was really not the same for all. One could not possibly realize Allah or Jesus through the Hindu way.

WOMEN AND GOLD. Ramakrishna's *dicta* against *kāminī-kañcan* ("woman and wealth" or "lust and lucre") saw women as the root of all evils and any gainful employment as degrading slavery. He thus urged most of his devotees and disciples never to trust women nor to get married or employed, but to devote their life to contemplation. He ruled that men might marry, raise a family, and earn a living to maintain them, though they must at all times remain disciplined and virtuous. But for those whom he considered possessed of spiritual potential, he counseled a life of austerity and celibacy. Despite his verbal adoration of women as Śakti or mother, and despite the fact that he owed his upbringing and his success as a public figure to women, such as his mother Chandramani, his employer Rasmani, his putative Tantric mentor Yogeśvarī, and his wife Sāradāmaṇi (who devoted her entire married life to her husband and his followers), he remained suspicious of women and, as a celibate husband, even expressed a measure of apprehension about his wife's chastity. He was fearful of prostitutes (or unchaste women) as much as he was of low-caste people.

Ramakrishna was equally ambivalent about gold. Though he derided material wealth, he personally enjoyed an epicurean life and even showed a good deal of interest in *kañcan* (gold). He never gave up the world but always lived at home like a householder, luxuriating in physical comforts without doing any work. He maintained a diary listing every kind of expense, such as defraying the cost of a horoscope for himself, paying the physicians he often consulted for ailments, buying ornaments for his wife and even for her maidservant, and above all, investing in landed property at his native village, Kamarpukur, and the neighboring village, Sihore. He himself admitted having felt alarmed after he had flung some coins into the river water because he feared this action might infuriate Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth and welfare, and cause her to stop his daily food supply. Thus he prayed to the goddess to "stay in [his] heart." Yet the tradition continues to regard him as a renunciant. The image of Ramakrishna constructed by Swami Vivekananda was perpetuated by the Ramakrishna Order that Vivekananda founded. The most elaborate theological interpretation of Ramakrishna's life and teachings based on Vivekananda's interpretation was provided by Ramakrishna's monastic biographer Swami Saradananda.

RAMAKRISHNA'S TANTRIC CONNECTION. One of Ramakrishna's early biographers, Satyacharan Mitra, regarded Ramakrishna as a "*ghora* (consummate) *tāntrika*," though he never really explained or described Ramakrishna's Tantric training under Yogeśvarī Bhairavī, an episode shrouded in obscurity. Ramakrishna's training in Tantra under her guidance reads in vernacular sources like a venture by a naive and

inquisitive initiate. As a *tāntrika* initiate, Ramakrishna came to a very Vaiṣṇava realization that the world is full of Viṣṇu *(sarvam Viṣṇumayam jagat)*. Ramakrishna's Tantric connection is supported by his association with the Dakshineshwar Kālī temple and his Tantric practices under Yogeśvarī. In the early 1940s Heinrich Zimmer and, following him, Walter Neevel in 1975, argued that Ramakrishna was essentially Tantric. The Danish scholar Anders Blichfeldt stated that Ramakrishna's "commitment to right-handed Tantra . . . seems to have been a permanent influence" (1982, p. 46). Jeffrey Kripal concluded that "it was the Kali of the Sakta tradition that was the focus of Ramakrishna's life," and thus "Ramakrishna's world . . . was a Tantric world" (1995, pp. 25, 27). Kripal utilized Ramakrishna's Tantric orientation to harness Ramakrishna's mystic image to his unconscious or unacknowledged homosexuality. Christopher Isherwood also commented on Ramakrishna's homosexual impulses, and Jeffrey Masson as well as Narasingha Sil speculated on sexual trauma in Ramakrishna's boyhood and adolescence that might have caused his gynephobia and virility anxiety. Kripal sees "latent or hidden themes that structured much of Ramakrishna's own experience" and that were concealed as much by Ramakrishna's own awareness as by the deliberate design of his biographer, Mahendranath Gupta.

Hagiographers and theologians look upon Ramakrishna as a divine incarnation *(avatāra)* who descended to earth to proclaim the efficacy of Hindu devotionalism. Sociohistorical and psychohistorical scholarship sees Ramakrishna as a human being with human sexuality, ailments, and caste and gender bias, who preached a traditional Hindu piety that is asocial and apolitical.

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NARASINGHA P. SIL (2005)

RITES OF PASSAGE: NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN RITES

When Arnold van Gennep wrote about rites of passage, he commented that rarely do physical and social puberty con-

verge. However, this rare convergence may occur as it is ritually performed by the Mescalero Apache in 'Isánáklésh Gotal. In this example the physiological changes in a girl as she reaches menarche are marked and accompanied by a change in social status. The meaning of this ceremony is embedded in the ritual transformation of the pubescent girl as she moves through the door of adolescence from one state of mind or spiritual being into the transformative state in which she incorporates the deity into herself and becomes 'Isánáklésh. If the ceremony is successful, she leaves behind the ways of childhood, and emerges as a responsible young Apache woman, able to carry on the Apache traditions and to bestow the gift of life.

In this ritual sequence, the tripartite schema of separation, transition, and incorporation that van Gennep identified as features of rites of passage collapses into one ceremony. Initially, the young girl is *separated* from her family and her usual daily activities to live in her own private tipi at the ceremonial site specifically constructed for her ceremony. In the preliminal rites of this stage of separation, she is without social status, no longer a child but not yet a woman.

During the process of ritual transformation she is in *transition*. In this state of liminality, the rites are designed to inscribe in her the traditional Apache knowledge and wisdom as she changes from girl to deity and then into a transformed female. After this stage, she is *incorporated* back into the community with a new social status. The postliminal rites involve using her new power by blessing those in the community who so request it. She is also allowed time to reflect back on the ceremony and the powerful changes she has just undergone.

Each of these stages is accompanied by sacred songs, which generate *diye*, power. They are used to distort the present time and return the participants to mythological time, when the deities were present on earth. They then bring time forward to the present by reenacting the myth, which becomes ceremony with its designated sacred rituals. Through song, the young girl is transformed into the deity and finally into a new Apache woman. This complex system is nourished through the rituals that are composed of symbols as the smallest component of the ceremony. The sacred meaning of ceremonies that have persisted over time is transferred to the Apache through these sacred symbols of power, which are used to distinguish ritual reality from everyday life. Without such symbols, the primary participants could not enter into the state of ritual, and thus be properly prepared for ceremonial transformation.

In Mescalero Apache cosmology, 'Isánáklésh is described as one of the five divine deities present at the time of creation. In those first days, she appeared with the lower half of her face painted with white earth clay and her body completely covered with yellow cattail pollen; she wore a necklace of abalone shell as she watched over all things growing on earth. Using her sacred power, *diye*, she ripened trees, plants, the flowers of the fields, fruits, and medicinal herbs. Her compassion and creative wisdom as healer provided information from the beginning of time about the animals, plants, and people in order to aid those who suffered from disease, injury, or distress. Before this time, healing knowledge did not exist. This myth or sacred narrative is critical for understanding the young woman's initiation ceremony and the religious values of Mescalero Apache, since 'Isánáklésh was the first young woman to receive this ceremony. The myth was given to the Apache people by 'Isánáklésh herself, and it is important because it provides the framework for the ceremony that is practiced today. In addition, if one reflects upon the myth, one begins to see the religious, intellectual, and aesthetic climate in which the ceremony takes its beginning and how these beginnings continue to influence the community today.

'Isánáklésh, the Apache female deity as a young pubescent girl, was given the first ceremony of initiation into womanhood by her parents, First Man and First Woman. She ran vigorously, danced vigorously, and thought deeply about how beautiful the ceremony was. She commented that it should be given as a gift to all Apache girls. This is the same female initiation ceremony that is celebrated today on the Mescalero Apache reservation. The ceremony serves to acknowledge the power of women, to teach young girls what they need to know to be good Apaches, and to restore 'Isánáklésh to her youth. When she begins to feel old, she has only to walk toward the young initiate as she runs to the east during her ceremony, and 'Isánáklésh will again be renewed in one of the religious transformations that occur during the ceremony.

The decision to have a ceremony for a young pubescent girl requires that she begin spiritual, physical and psychological preparations well in advance of her menarche. Inquiries are made about the past illnesses of the young girl, and the parents are asked about any traumas that have taken place that might affect the state of mind or the body of the girl. During the first morning, the medicine people pray so that the young girl can live without the past affecting her future. The teachings and symbols that are used in the young girl's instruction vary to some degree for each initiate, but the overall purpose of such instruction, as well as the ceremonial structure itself, is to convince the adolescent that she will undergo good and positive changes and live a good long life if she participates fully in the ceremony.

Today some of the girls require more convincing than others. Those who have been instructed from a very young age about the importance of the ceremony for a good healthy life and have been influenced continually by female kin, begin to anticipate their ceremony. Female kin begin to discuss the importance of the ceremony as they prepare for the feast at the time of a girl's first menstruation. Long before this, many prepubescent girls have observed and quietly listened as older girls are prepared for their ceremonies.

Whenever a ceremony is held, prepubescent girls will gather at the tipi to observe the initiate. It is clear that some

of these girls gather around because they are interested to know what to expect when their feast occurs. Many times mothers or other women say to these little girls, "Go on up toward the front where you can see and hear everything better." And then the girls begin slowly to make their way through the crowd of people to the front of the ceremonial tipi. Young girls observing an initiate dancing in the sacred tipi will often remark: "I can hardly wait for my feast. My mother is preparing many special things for my ceremony. But I am a little scared."

At this young age, the initiates are considered to be soft and moldable; they are still capable of being conditioned and influenced by female kin. Some girls, it is said, are easier to convince about the importance of participating than are others. Some need to be awakened to their female identity; others, on the other hand, need to be calmed down and taught to be more feminine within the ritual design of the ceremony. Two concepts are at work here: One is awakening the initiate to the world around her and to her abilities, and the other is carefully calming down the unrestrained nature of adolescence. Both concepts, as well as the teachings that strengthen the concept of self, which is central to the transformative process, are nurtured and encouraged in the everyday activities of young Apache girls. Through the many life cycle ceremonies that mark the main transition periods of Apache life, these same rituals and symbols are engaged again and again.

Many women who experienced the ceremony themselves strongly urge their daughters and granddaughters to continue the tradition. Because of the elevated status of older women, a grandmother's wishes are taken seriously. Great efforts are made to share expenses and labor so that a family's final decision whether or not to hold a ceremony will be based primarily on family and kin support rather than on economic criteria. A ceremony represents an opportunity to demonstrate reciprocity with relatives. The family may also receive support from nonrelatives, usually friends who are concerned with the well-being of the young girl and her family.

In some families, preparations for the ceremony begin very early in a young girl's life. She is slowly and carefully guided away from her special childhood of minimal responsibilities. In a family where female kin have watched over her from the time of her birth, in adolescence she is suddenly placed in a demanding learning environment. Menarche signals a psychological as well as a physiological marker that the young girl is taught to recognize. Suddenly her life changes dramatically.

Today a girl's first menstruation is sometimes celebrated in the old way with a private feast, *dahindah*, which is usually attended only by family and close friends. The small ceremony includes pollen blessings for the young girls, songs, and a dinner for select relatives and friends. According to tradition, it is at this smaller rite that the family selects a *gutaal* chanter, singer, and a *nade 'kleshn* female sponsor. It is here also that they announce and set the time for the girl's feast, when she will symbolically run out of childhood and into womanhood. Although it is not the central ceremony, this rite is sacred, and for its duration the girl is referred to as *'Isánáklésh*. She is sung over by a singer who emphasizes to her the importance of this intimate religious celebration, the gift of long life from 'Isánáklésh to a young changing woman.

This family gathering encourages the girl to begin her preparations for the rigorous physical, mental, and spiritual challenges that she will face during the more elaborate celebration. Young girls sometimes are reluctant to agree to participate in the ceremony. Whether it is shyness or fear of being the center of attention, girls may be hesitant to comply with their family's wishes. But in a traditional family, a girl's participation is expected and she is prepared carefully for this event long in advance. Once she accepts her role as an initiate, the demanding preparations begin. Her female relatives view the ceremony as a joyous religious occasion and put forth every effort to make the feast a special and solemn ceremony.

Nearly all girls had this ceremony in earlier times. The women must have recognized how difficult it was for young girls to live to a wise old age. Life was hard for women who were always on the move, gathering food resources, preparing and storing them, raising children, and attending to the ill and the elderly.

Today *dahindah* is usually given in families that are most traditional. Families that do not celebrate *dahindah* will announce the girl's feast in another away. The announcement itself enters the family into an obligation to hold the ceremony. In announcing the feast they are acknowledging 'Isánáklésh Gotal, and therefore they must adhere to the ceremony as it is set out in the myth and by tradition. To not follow through after making the announcement is to misuse sacred power and to risk danger.

As soon as possible after a girl's first menstruation, if she did not have a *dahindah*, her family should choose a *gutaal.* They approach the *gutaal* and ask: "We are here requesting your help to sing for our daughter." If he decides they are the "right family," meaning they are people who follow or respect the Apache traditional ways, he usually agrees. The family then offers the *gutaal* feathers, cigarettes, shells, and pollen as gifts in confirmation of the agreement. Then, in the family's presence, the *gutaal* prays that he will be in a good frame of mind for the ceremony, so that it will go well for all concerned. He prays for a clear mind and the strength to perform the rituals according to sacred tradition. The *gutaal* is responsible for assuring that everyone involved carries out his or her specific ritual roles in a sacred manner and according to tradition.

The family and relatives then begin to gather the ceremonial objects that will be placed in the special ceremonial basket. Expeditions are planned to the countryside in order

to collect the pollen. One must wade in the river's edges for the white and red earth clays, and galena is usually gathered. The initiate is expected to participate in the gathering. She accompanies the older women and is instructed in the method of selecting and gathering the needed materials. Trips to collect yucca usually take longer, and other materials are gathered yearly when the season is right.

Extended kin and friends are asked to assist in the detailed preparation. Thus the preparations engender female bonds of solidarity and spirituality as all unite to give support to the initiate and her immediate family in planning for a successful ceremony. The family must also select a *nade 'kleshn*, a female sponsor, who will assume the responsibility of preparing their daughter for the ceremony. This woman will play an important role in the immediate preparation and in the actual ceremonial process. She will be like a mother and mentor to the initiate. Once selected, the family engages in appropriate gift giving to the *nade 'kleshn* just like for the initiate's singer. In this way, the ritual relationship is established and affirmed. This mother–daughter relationship will endure through the lifetime of the initiate.

Usually the *nade 'kleshn* is a woman who is well versed in the traditional ways and is respected in the community because she has lived her life in an exemplary manner. In one case, when the initiate's family arrived at the house of the woman whom they had chosen, the morning star was still bright in the sky. Timing here is important, as the morning star is to be the guide for the initiate's future. The family brings pollen to the woman and makes the request of her to be *nade 'kleshn* for their daughter. A woman must never refuse such a request; to do so would be considered a refusal of 'Isánáklésh. In this way, the ritual familial relationship is established and affirmed.

The *nade 'kleshn* begins to instruct the young girl as soon as the family has selected and engaged her. The instruction centers on this basic message to the initiate: "So far your life has been simple and easy. You have had very little responsibility. Now I need to prepare you for what to expect as a woman." The basic instruction includes how the girl is to deal with her first menstruation and her subsequent monthly periods. The *nade 'kleshn* teaches her about hygiene, as well as about pregnancy and childbirth.

Much is expected from a young woman who has a feast. Her preparation focuses on her future responsibilities to her people, to her self, and to her country. Self-worth is emphasized; the girl learns to understand that her life has a greater purpose. Her people need her in order that their culture can continue, because now she is a carrier of those traditions. This religious, cultural, and historical training instills in the adolescent a strong conviction of self and cultural esteem. It empowers her to comprehend and value the uniqueness of her Apache heritage, and thereby alleviate many problems of identity that most teenagers experience. The *nade 'kleshn* teaches and differentiates among the girl's future roles: her roles as wife, as mother, as a member of the Apache culture, and as an Apache woman. She deals with the problems and advantages of living in two cultures, the American and the Apache, and learns how to respect both. In addition, the *nade 'kleshn* emphasizes the girl's responsibilities as a member of both cultures. She relates all her instruction to the actual upcoming ceremony. It is through the experience of being cared for by the *nade 'kleshn* and her female relatives that the initiate will learn the value of caring for others.

In having the sensation of being cared for by others, she learns and experiences the good feelings such care generates. She then will extend such caring to others in the future. The *nade 'kleshn* emphasizes the importance of education, in the ways of the Apache culture as well as the dominant society's educational system. Both types are important in order to be a successful woman and member of the tribe. Great attention is paid to the structural details of the ritual activity, symbols, Apache philosophy, aesthetics, and their corresponding meanings. The *nade 'kleshn* explains to the initiate how to understand and incorporate the important cultural elements that she will now be charged to maintain and live by. After her ceremony she will be in a position to one day guide another young girl in her own feast preparations and ceremony.

The instruction also includes certain restrictions. The young girl learns a series of taboos, some related to food, water, and rain. She must avoid looking at a rainbow because of the power that this natural phenomenon generates. During the ceremony, she is also instructed on other specific restrictions: She must not smile or act in a lazy or tired manner, or display a negative attitude. She must not scratch herself with her fingernails but must use the designated scratching stick created for such purposes. During the ceremony she cannot drink water directly but must use a special drinking tube when she wants water. She is told to be careful with her words, how she speaks, and how she acts among the people. If she follows this advice, she will never be put in a position of shame, and she will always be respected.

The *nade 'kleshn* reviews the entire ceremony with the initiate so that the girl will be well prepared and know what is happening and what it means. She explains how she will be washed, bathed, and fed, about the songs, and how she must run towards the east and dance vigorously. She will be blessed in the manner in which she must bless others. She will be taught her part in starting the ceremonial fire, and she will be given knowledge of the symbolism that is used throughout the ceremony.

The girl learns the importance of generosity through the example of her family, who must provide large quantities of food and other materials for the guests for four days. In the early 1990s a single private feast cost nearly $10,000. Some families begin saving for their daughter's feast at her birth. The fact that families continue to hold ceremonies for their daughters illustrates how much they value and depend on women to carry the culture and people into the next generations. By reenacting the origins of Mescalero culture, the cer-

emony continually ensures cultural continuity into the future.

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STUDY OF RELIGION: THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN CHINA

In post-Mao China, the Communist government's policy on religion has marked a departure from the repressive policies of the Maoist period. The official "Document No. 19" issued by the Chinese Communist Party in 1982 states that the party's basic policy on religion is one of respect for and protection of the freedom of religious belief, pending such future time when religion itself will disappear. This more tolerant policy on religion brought about a revival of religious traditions, including their activities and organizations, in many parts of China. Temples, churches, and mosques, most of which were destroyed by the Red Guards or occupied by nonreligious organizations during the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), have been restored and rebuilt. This revival is an aspect of a greater social and academic freedom in China. The reform policy also led to a gradual loosening and opening of the conditions for academic research on religion. As a result, academic religious studies in mainland China have prospered, despite some problems with the country's education system, standards of publication, and methods of research. The most significant changes are in the following three areas: the development of academic religious studies, including the basic conception of religion and its study; religious studies in educational institutions and scholarly publications; and the relationships of academic religious studies to the academic, religious, and general communities in China.

THOUGHT: THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACADEMIC RELIGIOUS STUDIES IN CHINA. The development of academic religious studies in China since the 1910s began with the problem of the modern concept of "religion." There is no equivalent indigenous term in Chinese for the generic term *religion*. Neither had there been any systematic, comparative, and critical studies of religions in premodern China, but only apologetic learning within a particular school of *jiao*, a term that means both instruction and teaching. In traditional China, there were the "three teachings" *(sanjiao)* of Confucius *(rujiao),* Laozi *(daojiao),* and Buddha *(fojiao)*. As a result of contact with Japanese scholars of religion in the late nineteenth century, Chinese intellectuals brought the Japanese translation of the Western term *religion* (i.e., *shūkyō*) into China and began to refer to the three schools of teaching as three Chinese religions (*zongjiao*). Without clearly taking into account the critical difference between the Western term *religion* and the native characters *zong* and *jiao*, the translation of *zongjiao* into Western languages as "religion" gave rise to serious misunderstandings and confusion among Chinese intellectuals whenever they discussed the religious nature of Chinese traditional *jiao* in the beginning of the twentieth century and even today.

The traditional Chinese characters of *zong* and *jiao* were not used to discern theism in the Western European sense nor were they used to designate an isolatable aspect of human life. *Zong* means to honor, revere, and obey; *jiao* means teaching and learning. The very difficulty of defining, or

even finding, "religious" qualities within *rujiao, daojiao,* or *fojiao* reflects the problems encountered when uncritically using the Western concept of "religion" to correspond to non-Western traditional cultures. In spite of these differences, almost all Chinese scholars today are used to defining Daoism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, and folk belief and ritual as "religion." Few are aware of the origin of the concept of religion, let alone the changes in meaning the term has undergone in the West.

While the Western term *religion* does not correspond to the native Chinese term *zongjiao*, the difference does not mean that the scholarly study of religion has not occurred in modern China. Beginning in the early twentieth century, skeptical and rational studies of religion by Chinese scholars began to appear. The spread of Western learning brought Chinese scholars some entirely new ideas, theories, and methodologies. Distancing themselves from traditional and apologetic attitudes, Chinese scholars in this period, including Liang Qichao, Hu Shi, Chen Yinque, Tang Yongtong, Chen Yuan, Xu Dishan, and Zhen Hanzhang, were able to study Buddhism, Daoism, and Islam on a scholarly and objective level by applying modern historical, linguistic, and literary-critical approaches to their studies. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, owing to these scholars' strength and interest in history, literature, and philosophy, the major achievement of academic religious studies in China was largely concentrated on the history and philosophy of particular religious traditions. Consideration of common assumptions and methodological principles of religious studies as a scientific and autonomous discipline was not evident in the religious studies field during this period. This was due in part to the antireligious attitude generally adopted by Chinese intellectuals who were calling for a critical overhaul of Chinese traditional culture, including all of its religious, superstitious, and feudal elements, during the May Fourth/New Cultural movement of 1920s China. At that time, therefore, religious studies was not generally seen as a scientific discipline, and with the exception of the School of Religious Studies *(zongjiao xueyuan)* of Yanching University, founded by an American missionary in Beijing in 1926, there were no known major programs of religious studies established in universities in China.

When the Communist Party took over China in 1949, all academic activities, like all other cultural and social activities, became subject to Marxism, Leninism, and Maoism, and all academic institutions were placed under the control of the Communist Party. Like every branch of the study of literature, the arts, and culture, serious religious studies became nonexistent, and neither were there any research and teaching institutions in the field of religious studies. Religion was severely attacked and dismissed as superstitious and counterrevolutionary, and academic religious studies was considered something of a "bourgeois pseudoscience." That era saw few new articles and publications on the subject of religion. What little was produced was used as an instrument of the party's policy on political campaigns and became part of its atheist propaganda. For example, from the late 1950s on, Hou Wailu and Ren Jiyu criticized Buddhist thought and analyzed its social basis in terms of Marxist historical materialism.

The most dramatic change in religious studies in China occurred when Deng Xiaoping's new policy of "reform and opening" was adopted and implemented at the end of 1978, two years after the death of Mao Zedong in 1976. The more tolerant policy on religion led to the lifting of the prohibition on religious activities and academic research on religion. Beginning in the early 1980s, Buddhist and Daoist temples, Muslim mosques, and Christian churches were rebuilt one by one and opened to the public. The speed of restoration and reconstruction of religious centers accelerated in the following two decades. The rapid revival of religions in the 1980s was not unrelated to the "spiritual crisis" of the Chinese people, who were disillusioned with Communist values. An enthusiastic turn to studying religious traditions and culture also occurred within scholarly groups. First, the former extremely "leftist" attitude toward religion, which considered religion to be "the opium of the people," was no longer trusted by scholars in China. Second, facing a serious chaos in values in post-Mao China, many Chinese intellectuals chose to return to studying traditional Chinese culture, including religion, in an attempt to search for some new cultural value system that might help Chinese people disentangle themselves from the past decades of political and cultural disturbance.

This cultural tendency is referred to as a "fever" for religious culture. On the one hand, it liberates scholars from the dogmatic Marxist theory of religion by repositioning religion as a form of human culture. On the other hand, this new tendency shapes studies of religions in a way that treats religion as one cultural phenomenon among others. Such journals as *Jidujiao wenhua pinglun* (Christian cultural review), *Fojiao wenhua* (Buddhist culture), *Zongjiao yu wenhua* (Religion and culture), and *Daojia wenhua* (Daoist culture) have begun to appear. In addition, numerous books and articles on religion's relationship to art, morality, literature, culture, philosophy, science, economy, and law are published for general consumption.

Aside from popular interest in religious culture, since the early 1990s academic religious studies in China have advanced enormously. This is due in part to the fact that many research institutions focused on religious studies and many religious studies programs came to be established in universities as a result of the expansion of higher education in China. In particular, many graduate theses on diverse religious traditions brought a new direction to religious studies scholarship in China. Among the subject areas included are Buddhism, Chinese Christianity, Daoism, Tibetan Buddhism, Islam, Zoroastrianism, folk religion, and the religions of ethnic nationalities in many parts of China. In contrast to the scholarship of the previous decade, which focused only on the gen-

eral history of a particular religion, more religious studies are devoted to rituals, village lineages, social changes, sectarian developments, and cross-cultural and local interactions within diverse religious traditions.

In the area of theories and methods of religious studies, Lu Daji, He Guanghu, and Zhuo Xinping are leading scholars introducing Western theories of religion to Chinese students. Many of the works available in translation, however, are more concentrated on the subject areas of philosophy of religion, theology, sociology of religion, and anthropology of religion. As examples, works by James Frazer, Émile Durkheim, Max Weber, Peter Berger, John Hick, John Macquarrie, and Paul Tillich are widely translated and well known to Chinese scholars and have had a definite impact on academic work. Nevertheless, a broader introduction to the variety of theories of religion in the West would help Chinese students to be able to scrutinize critically the Western category of "religion" and the changes in meaning that it has undergone since the late twentieth century. As of 2005, there were few if any university courses that discussed the nature of religion and religions or the methods of religious studies in Chinese cultural contexts.

Chinese students of religious studies also need to be introduced to the field of religious studies with an emphasis upon the search for the transdisciplinary nature of religious experience and for the perennial patterns underlying the myths, rites, and symbols of diverse religious traditions. Indeed, some Chinese scholars of religion often compare the actual practice of religious tradition with the most idealized or outmoded theories of the West, theories that were the product of the Enlightenment. Recently, some Chinese scholars have voiced the opinion that it is of paramount importance for students of religious studies in China to pay more attention to the well-established scholarly tradition of *Religionswissenschaft* in the West and to recognize this field as a scholarly effort to study religious values that can account for not just why people do certain religious things in this or that historical context, but why they do them in the first place.

Institutionalization: Religious Studies in Educational Institutions and Scholarly Publications. Before the early 1980s, one could not find any religious studies programs established as part of the undergraduate study of humanities in universities in China, nor were there academic research institutions for serious religious studies. In 1963, because of Mao Zedong's words to the effect that "One cannot write well on histories of philosophy, of literature, and of the world without criticism of theology," the first state-founded institution for studying religion was set up in Beijing—the Institute of World Religions. But during the 1960s and 1970s political campaigns and dogmatic Marxist theories of religion undermined the development within the institute of serious religious studies. In 1978, with the restoration of schools, universities, and research institutions, the Institute of World Religions regained its academic status and started research activities anew, marking the first time in the educational history of religious studies in mainland China that more than twenty graduate students were admitted into the institute for academic religious studies. Their major subject areas included Protestant Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, Daoism, Confucianism, and atheism. In 1979, the first national Chinese Association of Religious Studies was established. In addition, three journals or magazines of religious studies began to be published in Beijing and Nanjing, namely, *Shijie Zongjiao Yanjiu*, *Shijie Zongjiao Ziliao*, and *Zongjiao*. These three developments are usually regarded as milestones for the revival of academic religious studies in post-Mao China.

Despite these advances, institutionally-based academic religious studies saw little growth during the early 1980s. This was due in part to the ongoing influence of Marxist ideology upon scholars and educational institutions in China. Evidence of this during the early 1980s may be found in an influential scholarly debate on Marxist theory of religion that occurred among scholars from Beijing and Shanghai. The second problem that prevented more rapid development of academic religious studies in the 1980s was the dominant cultural agenda that shaped religious studies. In retrospect, some Chinese scholars today admit that studying religions as culture is too subjective and pragmatic, and, as a result, ignores complex religious phenomena as an autonomous subject for serious study.

From the late 1980s to the 1990s, a new pattern of change in academic religious studies occurred in universities in China. Institutional education on religious studies ceased to be the preserve of the stated-founded Institute of World Religions, which, in 1978, was put under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, with ten regional institutes in various provinces. Between 1978 and 1998, twenty-seven doctoral students completed their research theses at the Institute of World Religions. In the mid-1980s, Beijing University and Wuhan University became the first to set up religious studies programs for undergraduates in their own departments of philosophy. Subsequently, Sichuan University, Nanjing University, Renmin University, Fudan University, and Shandong University founded institutes or centers for academic religious studies. Thus the number of professional researchers increased greatly. Among the major characteristics shared by these university-based religious studies programs, the goal of fostering understanding of religious traditions supplanted the traditional ideological criticism of religion. However, the location of religious studies programs within departments of philosophy obviously prevented students from broadening their approaches to studying religious traditions within both disciplinary and multidisciplinary contexts. Apart from the philosophical and historical aspects of religion, the field of *Religionswissenschaft* and different methods of comparative, linguistic, anthropological, archaeological, sociological, and literary approaches to the complex phenomena of religious belief and practice would appear to be

neglected in religious studies programs in China today; as a result, a comprehensive curriculum of religious studies programs has yet to emerge. In the early 2000s, some Chinese universities received official approval from the state to set up undergraduate programs of religious studies, despite the unchanged practice of locating such departments within the department of philosophy. However, it remains to be seen whether there will be more faculty members with full-time appointments in religious studies and whether greater contributions of faculty from a variety of humanities and social science disciplines will be permitted in the future.

Besides offering religious studies programs, these universities are also expanding their graduate enrollments and research activities by establishing research institutes for religious studies. Among these research institutes, Sichuan University is the best for Daoist studies, and Nanjing University and Renmin University are the leading institutions for Buddhist studies. By the turn of the century, Sichuan University and Renmin University had further developed as the state-supported humanities research bases for academic religious studies because of the excellence of their academic programs.

Besides the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and university-based institutions, religious studies are conducted in the State Bureau for Religious Affairs. The High Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Community Party has also set up institutes for the study of religions under its direct supervision. In addition, some government sanctioned religious associations (e.g., national associations of Buddhism, Daoism, Islam, and Roman Catholic and Protestant Christianity) have established their own colleges for recruitment and education of their young professionals.

CONTEXTUALIZATION: RELATIONSHIPS OF ACADEMIC RELIGIOUS STUDIES TO THE ACADEMIC, RELIGIOUS, AND GENERAL COMMUNITIES IN CHINA. It is difficult to deny that the Communist state retains political control and enforces legal restrictions on religion and religious studies in China. According to the Chinese constitution, people have the freedom to believe or not believe in religion, but this refers to government-approved forms of the five major traditions—Daoism, Buddhism, Islam, and Roman Catholic and Protestant Christianity. For Chinese scholars of religions, the problem with this limited definition of approved religions is that it prevents them from studying beliefs and practices of other religious traditions. As examples, Chinese popular religious sects are labeled as "feudal superstition" unworthy of recognition as religion. In addition, academic studies of China's fifty-six ethnic minority groups may put scholars in jeopardy of being accused of dividing the country if their publications contravene state policy over the governance of minority communities. Furthermore, since the relationship between the Chinese government and the Vatican remains conflictual, China's underground Catholic churches, with six to eight million adherents, are subject to repression. Circumscribed by the official stance on underground churches, Chinese scholars are unwilling to take up this subject of study. These are but a few examples among many that show how the party's policy on religion continues to determine the scope and character of academic religious studies in China. In the late 1990s, party authorities reiterated the call for the adaptation of religion to socialism. Required to respond to this call, some Chinese religious studies scholars immediately proposed research projects aimed at promoting such adaptation.

Despite this, there is no doubt that academic religious studies have had a remarkable influence on Chinese society by giving the public more accurate and objective information about the growing reality of religious activities and faith among the Chinese people today. According to Communist Party law, normal religious activities must be confined within registered religious buildings and organizations. Because of this kind of control over religious organizations and their activities, academic studies of religions are an alternative means by which nonbelievers in the society can relate to religion. The public effect of serious religious studies may be to help the larger community build a more sympathetic and sensible understanding of religion. The influence of the flourishing publications of religious studies can be traced in such public media as newspapers, television, films, and broadcasting, all of which reflect an increased interest in religion.

The effect of academic religious studies upon China's religious communities is twofold. First, because religious organizations have very limited resources for developing systematic studies of their own traditions, religious studies scholars, through invitations to lecture, publications, and good relationships, can increase and deepen believers' understanding of their own faith. Some religious leaders highly appreciate the work of scholars for their contribution to improving the quality of believers. Second, some religious studies scholars are named by the public as "Cultural Christians," "Cultural Buddhists," or "Cultural Daoists," because of the influence of their publications in increasing the public's knowledge of Christianity, Buddhism, or Daoism. In this regard, religious studies scholars sometimes play a more influential role in spreading religions in society than such insiders as clergy, *saṃgha* members, or Daoist masters.

The future of religious studies in China is linked to the fate of the government's policy on religious and academic freedom. The success of academic studies, including religious studies, in China is dependent on the extent of the Communist regime's open, tolerant, and pluralistic policy. Along with this political factor, religious studies programs have not yet taken root in higher education in China. It will require substantial effort on the part of scholars to warrant the state's recognition that religious studies should constitute a separate discipline with its own methods and curriculum in Chinese universities.

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STUDY OF RELIGION: THE ACADEMIC STUDY OF RELIGION IN WESTERN EUROPE

While avoiding an approach to religion and discourses about it in a manner that presupposes their existence as self-evident objects, one should also avoid a purely constructionist approach, for the contours assumed by religion and by its scholarship, rather than being merely the result of scholarly arbitrariness, take shape within certain constraints. In terms of the study of religion, the most pervasive pattern involves the tension that results from a position according to which religious phenomena, being the reflection of supernatural realities, must be approached in a reverential manner, and one that seeks to discern—or, more radically, to unmask—the connections between religions beliefs/practices and mundane realities, especially those that have to do with power relations. In this regard, as a sacralizing or as a critical enterprise, the study of religion is part and parcel of the struggle surrounding a society's mechanisms of legitimization.

In the area with which we are concerned, the study of religion can be traced back to Herodotos's interest in the beliefs and practices of non-Greeks, to the demythologizing efforts of Xenophanes, and to the reflexivity implied in the changing attitudes towards supernatural power found in terms such as *gŏes/gōeteía* and *mágos/mageía*. The emergence of Christianity forced a confrontation between Christian *religio* and Roman *ritus*, Christian apologists becoming engaged in the delimitation of true religion and the condemnation of heresy and superstition. That apologetic approach continued during the medieval period, interspersed by ecumenical efforts such as Nicholas of Cusa's (1401–1464) *Cribatio Alkorani* (1461). Closer to the academic study of religion as such is the critique-of-ideology approach employed by the theorists associated with the Enlightenment. Most of them, especially the *philosophes*, do not usually appear in histories of the study of religion. But an eighteenth-century thinker, David Hume (1711–1776), must be mentioned among the early scholars of religion; indeed, one must agree with J. Samuel Preus, who regards Hume as the founder of the scientific study of religion. Hume's works, especially *The Natural History of Religion* (1757) and *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* (posthumously published in 1779), contain insights that are yet to be fully assimilated about the role played by "the ordinary affections of human life" in the generation of religion. No less important is Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872), whose ideas about projection in *Das Wesen des Christentums* (1841) were anchored in political realities by Karl Marx (1818–1883), and then elaborated upon by Ernst Topitsch (1919–1993). It could be said, in fact, that Feuerbach's discoveries are present, however implicitly, at the heart of the cognitive approach.

BETWEEN PHILOLOGY AND EXPERIENCE. While a critique-of-ideology approach to religion was taking place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there also occurred a linguistic deciphering that, having been made possible by European hegemony, has been itself subject to ideological analysis. The best-known cases involve the access to ancient Iranian, Egyptian and Mesopotamian texts, made possible in the eighteenth century by Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron (1731–1805) and in the nineteenth century by Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832), Georg Friedrich Grotefend (1775–1853), and Henry Rawlinson (1810–1895). In India, on the other hand, Sanskrit, learned by Europeans toward the end of the eighteenth century, did not have to be deciphered, inasmuch as its transmission within *brahman* circles had survived political and cultural upheavals. It could be said, nevertheless, that a translation of sorts took place, insofar as William Jones (1746–1794) and Gaston-Laurent Coeurdoux (1691–1779), and then Franz Bopp (1791–1867) and Rasmus Kristian Rask (1787–1832) recognized the kinship between Sanskrit and languages later to be known as Indo-European or *Indogermanisch*. Unlike the Enlightenment critique-of-ideology approach, the early study of Sanskrit texts by European intellectuals such as the Schlegel brothers tended to be carried out in a reverential manner, a reverence that was consonant with the political reaction against the desacralizing impetus of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. The Romantics distrusted the deleterious effects of reason, stressing the power of the irrational and the immediacy of experience—an attitude we will encounter once again in the early decades of the twentieth century. Still influential regarding the role of experience in religion is Friedrich Schleiermacher's (1768–1834) *Reden über die Religion* (1799), addressed to religion's "cultured despisers," a work that in bypassing traditional theological concern with doctrine is centered around religious experience. Experience also plays a role in F. Max Müller (1823–1900), one of the pioneers of the comparative study of religion, for whom "Religion is a mental faculty or disposition which, independent of, nay, in spite of sense and reason, enables man to apprehend the Infinite under different names and under various disguises." Müller, once a celebrated scholar and essayist, is now remembered for his work as editor of the *Ṛgveda* and as general editor of the fifty-volume series "The Sacred Books of the East," as well as for emphasizing the role of language in the generation of mythology in ways that re-

semble Francis Bacon's (1561–1626) theory of the idols of the mind.

Origins and Evolution. Müller's was but one of many nineteenth-century attempts to explain the origins and function of religion. Another influential suggestion was Edward Burnett Tylor's (1832–1917) theory of animism, according to which "a minimum definition of Religion" involves "the belief in Spiritual Beings." In Tylor's evolutionary perspective, "animism characterizes tribes very low in the scale of humanity, and thence ascends, deeply modified in its transmission, but from first to last preserving unbroken continuity, into the midst of high modern culture." This approach was carried one step further by Robert Ranulph Marett (1866–1943), whose theory of "animatism" proposed an earlier stage of impersonal forces, related to concepts such as "*tabu*" and "*mana*" that had been recently popularized by ethnographers. Moving in the opposite direction, Andrew Lang (1844–1912) rejected the idea that gods originated in ghosts, maintaining the primacy of the belief in high gods, a thesis that would find its culmination in Wilhelm Schmidt's (1868–1954) primordial monotheism (*Urmonotheismus*). Schmidt's theologically based theory reverses evolutionary assumptions, postulating a degeneration in conceptions of the divine. Working within an evolutionary framework, James George Frazer (1854–1941) wrote several massive works, the most popular of which was *The Golden Bough*, whose third edition in twelve volumes was published between 1913 and 1924. Trained in classics but writing from a comparative religion perspective, Frazer postulated a sequence from magic to religion to science, the section about "contagious" and "sympathetic" magic having become part of the vocabulary of the study of religion. Unlike today's scholarly debates, which have no repercussion among the public at large, the theories of Müller, Tylor, Marett, Lang, and Frazer were presented in widely sold books, in public lectures, and in encyclopedia articles, being debated in the press, not least because of the general interest in evolution.

In addition to their speculative character, their concern with the origins of religion, and the interest they awakened among the cultivated public, some of the theories mentioned above also shared the fact of their being based on reports by travelers and explorers, who in addition to collecting myths described ritual behavior. When the interest in ritual behavior was combined with philological rigor, and when this was done in a manner willing to disregard confessional prejudices, the results could be productive, albeit distressing to those who wanted to defend the uniqueness of Christianity. Just as the placing of Indian religious texts in the context of Indo-European mythology opened up new areas of research along with ideological controversies that last to this day, the discoveries of Mesopotamian and, later, Ugaritic materials allowed scholars to place the practices and beliefs of the ancient Israelites in the context of ancient Near Eastern religions. However, given the absorption of Israelite texts into the Christian Bible as the "Old Testament," the postulation of commonalities between Israelite and other Near Eastern religions has been regarded in certain circles as an attack on the uniqueness of the Christian message. A notorious example of this reaction occurred in 1881, when William Robertson Smith (1846–1894) lost his position at the University of Aberdeen after he wrote about the commonalities between ancient Israelite and Arabic sacrificial practices. As Julius Wellhausen (1844–1918) had already done, Smith focused on the ritual aspects of Israelite religion, paying special attention to sacrificial practices. No less controversial were the attempts by the scholars associated with the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* to understand early Christianity in the context of the religions of late antiquity. The approach to Israelite, Jewish and Christian religions from a comparative perspective, inaugurated by Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932), Wilhelm Bousset (1865–1920), Ernst Troeltsch (1865–1923), and Hugo Gressmann (1877–1927), among others, laid the foundations of the scholarly approaches on Old and New Testament studies prevalent today.

Around the time these controversies were taking place, sacrifice, ritual and in general the role of society in the genesis of religion were studied systematically by Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) and his collaborators, Marcel Mauss (1872–1950), Henri Hubert (1872–1927), and Robert Hertz (1881–1915), in articles published in the *Année Sociologique*. In France, as elsewhere in Europe, the period around 1900 was pivotal in the study of religion. It saw the publication of important works such as Durkheim's "De la définition des phénomènes religieux" (1898), Hubert and Mauss's "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice" (1899) and "Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie" (1903). The seminal character of that period becomes even more evident when we recall that in 1904 and 1905 Max Weber (1864–1920) published his study on the spirit of capitalism and the Protestant ethic, which continues to be debated a century later. The culmination of this approach to religion is found in Durkheim's *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (1912) and in Weber's *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*, as well as his "Religionssoziologie," published between 1920 and 1922.

The Institutionalization of the Study of Religion. Already several decades before these developments, chairs in history of religions were created in Geneva (1873), the Netherlands (1876–1877) and Paris (1879). The creation of the chairs occupied in Leiden by Cornelis Petrus Tiele (1830–1902), in Amsterdam by Pierre Daniel Chantepie de la Saussaye (1848–1920) and at the Collège de France by Albert Réville (1826–1906), involving as they did decisions at the governmental level, constituted the institutionalization of the study of religion as well as the transfer of resources from the field of theology to that of history of religions. The process was carried a step further in laic France, when the Protestant Réville became in 1886 president of the newly established Fifth Section, Sciences religieuses, of the École Pratique des Hautes Études, which to this day assembles the largest concentration in Europe of scholars devoted to nonconfessional research on religion. As important as the cre-

ation of chairs were the scholarly exchanges that took place during the extended period of peace that preceded World War I. We have already encountered Max Müller, a German who, after studying in Leipzig and Berlin, moved to Oxford to work on a critical edition of the *Ṛgveda*, partly as a result of the encouragement he received in Paris from Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852). Similarly, Robertson Smith was inspired by Wellhausen in Leipzig. Réville, in turn, studied in Holland. The exchanges among the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, and Germany were even more intense. It is sufficient to recall the Swede Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931), who after studying Iranian philology in Paris under Antoine Meillet (1866–1936), held a chair in Leipzig from 1912 to 1914. Another student of Meillet, the Dane Edvard Lehmann (1862–1930), was appointed to a chair in Berlin in 1910, after holding from 1900 to 1910 the first Danish chair in history of religions. He was succeeded by Vilhelm Grønbech (1873–1948). Likewise, the Norwegian William Brede Kristensen (1867–1953) taught in Leiden from 1901 to 1937, as successor of Tiele, one of his students being Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950). These academic lineages and appointments are mentioned in order to call attention to the intellectual cross-fertilization that occurred in large portions of Europe during the period of peace that would come to an abrupt end in August 1914.

Phenomenology and the Revolt against Reason. Several of the scholars named above have been identified with the phenomenology of religion, a term used for the first time by Chantepie de la Saussaye in 1887. Because of its vagueness this method or approach has been understood in a number of ways—the vagueness having also resulted in uncertainty as to who qualifies as a phenomenologist of religion. In general, phenomenologists attempted to discover the essence of religious phenomena, thus contributing to the postulation of the distinctive and indeed *sui generis* nature of a cluster of phenomena; they also sought to describe and classify the manifestations of religion, using categories such as "myth," "ritual," and "magic," still employed today. How the bracketing that allows the identification of the "religious" is achieved was generally left unexplained, for terms such as *epoché* and *essence* were used almost as incantations. Similarly, the procedure used to determine the "religious" character of certain practices and representations tended to involve circular reasoning. In some cases without using the term *phenomenology* in the title, Tiele, Chantepie de la Saussaye, Kristensen, and van der Leeuw authored widely read phenomenologies of religion—van der Leeuw's *Phänomenologie der Religion* (1933) being available still in several languages.

Besides the authors already mentioned, many of the early twentieth-century scholars identified with the history of religions in general, rather than with research in one religious tradition, were concerned with identifying and defending religiousness. This attitude can be seen among the theorists who worked in Germany during the first decades of the twentieth century: Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), Walter F. Otto (1874–1958), Jakob Wilhelm Hauer (1881–1962), Friedrich Heiler (1892–1967), and Joachim Wach (1898–1955), among others. Renowned as they once were, some of them are now known only to specialists in the history of the study of religions. An exception is Rudolf Otto, whose book *Das Heilige* (1917) is a phenomenology of a "holy" that transcends morality and reason. For Otto and many of his contemporaries, the precondition for the study of religion is having experienced religion's *sui generis* reality. Much like the theories of the jurist of the Third Reich, Carl Schmitt (1888–1985), about the foundations of sovereignty, Otto's conception of the "holy" is to be understood in the context of the revolt against the disintegrating effects of reason prevalent in European intellectual circles during the first decades of the twentieth century—a revolt that in many ways resembles the situation during the Romantic period. Even more popular than Otto, Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) continues to epitomize for many the proper, nonreductionist, approach to the world of religion. But as it happened with Otto, Eliade's conceptual apparatus—the sacred, hierophany, myth, *homo religiosus*, total hermeneutics—has been subject to conceptual and ideological critiques. The latter have been particularly forceful, having explored the links between Eliade's scholarly work and his right-wing political sympathies before and during the second world war, which he spent in Antonio de Oliveira Salazar's Portugal as cultural attaché of the Romanian regime. The same ideological analysis has been applied to the work of historians of religion associated with the Eranos meetings held in Ascona since 1933, some of whom advocated an esoteric, mystical approach to religion.

Whatever the phenomenologists' failings, even from a resolutely nontheological position it would be unwise to reject a priori the existence of the human proclivities that, perhaps because of the peculiarities of our cognitive apparatus, generate the building blocks of religion—conceptions of superhuman agency, mechanisms of legitimization and boundary creation involving sacredness, repetitious patterned behavior, narratives about origins, and the like. It may be observed at this point that despite the generalized distrust of evolutionary approaches among scholars in the humanities, many of the same scholars assume that current theories are by definition superior to those held fifty or a hundred years ago. Yet if one looks at several of the theories mentioned above, one can see that their demise is far from certain. One can refer, for example, to Carsten Colpe's (b. 1929) attempt to reground the phenomenological approach; to Kurt Rudolph's (b. 1929) use of a critique-of-ideology approach indebted to Marx, Weber, and Durkheim; to Robin Horton's rehabilitation of some of the positions advanced by Tylor and Frazer; to Walter Burkert's (b. 1931) ethological approach to the role played by emotion in religion; to Fritz Stolz's (1942–2001) use of functionalist approaches; to neurological research that seems to validate some of the aims of a hermeneutic based on empathy; to ecological and ethologi-

cal validation of Hume's theories; to cognitive science views of projection that validate Feuerbach.

Reflexivity. A survey of the many areas of European research in religion since the early twentieth century would require discussing large bodies of scholarship on specific traditions or, more generally, cultural areas; to subdisciplines such as anthropology, sociology, and psychology of religion; as well as to comparative research on, among other topics, "magic," "mysticism," "ritual," "myth," and "religion" itself. Regarding the very concept of "religion," it can be said that after attempts in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to provide a definition of religion, as well as an account of its origin, efforts in that direction have diminished considerably, being replaced by an examination of the conditions within which the discourses that constitute religion emerge. Indeed, concern with the political dimensions of one's scholarly activities and the questioning of received categories have characterized the study of religion, especially at the turn of the millennium. In terms of the political aspects of the study of religion, reference may be made to Indo-European studies, perhaps the field that has aroused the most ideologically charged controversies in recent times. Much of this has to do with the ideological manipulation of archaeological and linguistic evidence by the Nazis; some is related to the political sympathies of scholars identified with Indo-European studies, the best-known of whom is Georges Dumézil (1898–1986). But despite the abuses at the hands of fascists and political reactionaries, it must be remembered that Dumézil's postulation of a parallel between the tripartite organization of society and an equally tripartite structure of the Indo-European pantheon is an application of Durkheim's social theory of religion. In any event, when confronting these issues it is necessary to keep in mind not just the work of Nazi sympathizers such as Stig Wikander (1908–1983) and Jan de Vries (1890–1964), but also the labor of scholars such as Émile Benveniste (1902–1976) and Bernard Sergent (b. 1946), who rightly protests that one can be an "indo-européaniste" without being a Nazi.

The current practice of seeking to establish a correlation between scholarly activities and the political and religious background of scholars constitutes a sharp departure from the academic practices prevalent just a few decades ago. One may remember in this regard the angry reaction of Henrik Samuel Nyberg (1889–1974) over attempts to link his approach to Iranian religions to his Lutheran background. In his response to the critiques by W. B. Henning (1908–1967), R. C. Zaehner (1913–1967) and others, Nyberg referred, among other things, to the "gentleman's agreement," according to which the religious background of a scholar is not to be mentioned in scholarly debates. In later times, on the contrary, it is not uncommon to focus on the religious or ethnic background of scholars or on their political sympathies when trying to understand or, more frequently, to refute their theories. In the field of Iranian studies the clearest example is offered by the rejection of Wikander's theories about the *Männerbünde*—bands of Indo-Iranian warriors—because this theory was proposed by an author with national-socialist sympathies in a book published in 1938. Similarly, when dealing with religious allegiances, nobody would be surprised if in trying to assess Zaehner's theological approach to mysticism or E. E. Evans-Pritchard's (1902–1973) account of Zande theistic beliefs one were to take into account the fact that both converted to Catholicism. Similarly, nobody has objected to Gregory Schopen's (b. 1947) referring to "Protestant presuppositions" in his critique of purely doctrinal approaches to Indian Buddhism, an approach he detects even in Catholic scholars such as Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1869–1938) and his disciple Monsignor Étienne Lamotte (1903–1983), two of the great scholars of Buddhism in the twentieth century.

Reflexivity concerning the concept of religion has resulted in Michel Despland's (b. 1936) studies of the changing meanings of this term in the West; in Hans Kippenberg's (b. 1939) having placed the history of the study of religions within the social transformation that gave rise to modernity; as well as in Hans-Michael Haussig's comparative studies of the concept of "religion" in various cultures. Taking a radical position, scholars such as Dario Sabbatucci (1923–2002), Timothy Fitzgerald (b. 1947), and Daniel Dubuisson (b. 1950) have sought to show that religion is a Western construct suffused by ideological presuppositions. Besides this radical position, there has been a concerted effort to study nonofficial forms of religion, variously labeled as "popular," "folk," or "local," scholars having become aware of the need to avoid accepting official or clerical versions of what constitutes "magic," "superstition," "heresy," or "syncretism." It is instructive in this regard to compare Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's (1848–1931) negative attitude toward Greek magic to that of Samson Eitrem (1872–1966), not to mention that of Fritz Graf (b. 1944) or Jan Bremmer (b. 1944), scholars who have made substantial contributions to the elucidation of magical practices in the Greco-Roman world. There is now an increased awareness of the fact that religious traditions are not to be understood as self-contained units, or as being coterminous with a geographical area. This realization has led to research projects dealing on the one hand with a "European religious history" that is more than just the history of Christianity and, on the other, with the forms assumed by diaspora religions in various parts of the world.

Beyond Official Religion. Rejection of a purely doctrinal/textual approach to religion has led to a revalorization of ritual activities and of nonofficial forms of religion in general. Lack of space allows for little more than mentioning the work of almost forgotten pioneers such as Peter Browe (1876–1949) and of influential scholars such as Marc Bloch (1886–1944), Georges Duby (1919–1996), Aaron Gurevich (b. 1924), Jacques Le Goff (b. 1924), Arnold Angenendt (b. 1934), Jean-Claude Schmitt (b. 1946), and Peter Dinzelbacher (b. 1948) on medieval Christianity; Julio Caro Baroja (1914–1995), Jean Delumeau (b. 1923), Keith Thomas (b. 1933), Richard van Dülmen (b. 1937), and

Robert Muchembled (b. 1944) on early modern European religion; Kristofer Schipper (b. 1934) on Daoism; Axel Michaels (b. 1949) on Hinduism; and Michael Stausberg (b. 1966) on Zoroastrianism. The work of the scholars working on Asian traditions has the added significance of combining historico-philological approaches, involvement with contemporary practitioners—including Schipper's ordination as a Daoist master in Taiwan—along with interest in the theoretical implications of their research, especially regarding the issue of ritual. It is true that European scholars' acquaintance with lived Asian religions is not new—one need only think of Johann Jakob Maria de Groot (1854–1921), Marcel Granet (1884–1940), Henri Maspero (1883–1945), Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984), Paul Mus (1902–1969), and Rolf Stein (1911–1999) in the fields of Chinese, Southeast Asian and Tibetan religion—but it would not be unfair to say that there is now among some scholars a heightened recognition of the need to combine history, philology, and anthropology, as well as of the need to be aware of one's frequently unstated theoretical presuppositions.

In order to achieve something more than the ritualized bemoaning of the mixing of history of religions and theology, reflexivity and meta-theoretical research require a high level of abstraction along with a knowledge of materials from many traditions. Some of the most rigorous work in this regard has been carried out by Fritz Stolz—whose premature death was a great loss to the field—and by Burkhard Gladigow (b. 1939), whose many contributions to the study of religion, unfortunately still not collected in book form, include his service as one of the editors of the *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* (1988–2001), a work devoted to the study of the conceptual apparatus of *Religionswissenschaft*. The *Handbuch* is just one of the reference works currently being published in the field of religion; indeed, despite the pervasive talk about the questioning of "master narratives" and the like, ours seems to be the age of compendia, encyclopedias, dictionaries, guides, and introductions to the study of religion. *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* is now appearing in its fourth edition. The *Metzler Lexikon Religion* (1999–2002), edited by Christopher Auffarth, Jutta Bernard, and Hubert Mohr, emphasizes the role of lived, everyday religion, in full awareness of the authors' European perspective.

Among collections designed to provide a comprehensive overview of the religious history of humanity none is more ambitious than *Die Religionen der Menschheit*, whose first two volumes were published in 1960. Several less ambitious collective works appeared around 1970: the *Illustreret religionshistorie*, edited by Jes P. Asmussen and Jørgen Læssøe (1968; revised German edition, *Handbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 1971–1972); the fourth edition of *La storia delle religioni*, edited by Giuseppe Castellani (1970); and the *Histoire des religions* (1970–1972) edited by Henri-Charles Puech. The most recent attempt to present a multivolume panorama of the religions of humanity is the *Storia delle religioni* edited by Giovanni Filoramo (1995–1999). Among publications that deal with the phenomenon of religion we may mention Mircea Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions* (1949, translated into several languages); Kurt Goldammer, *Die Formenwelt des Religiösen* (1960); Friedrich Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (1961); Geo Widengren, *Religionsphänomenologie* (1969); Fritz Stolz, *Grundzüge der Religionswissenschaft* (1988) and *Weltbild der Religionen* (2001); Francisco Diez de Velasco, *Introducción a la Historia de las Religiones* (1995); and Giovanni Filoramo, *Che cos'è religione* (2004).

National Traditions. As already indicated, a survey of the study of religion in twentieth-century Europe would require much more space than is available here. Regarding French-speaking countries, in addition to the authors mentioned elsewhere in this essay, reference must be made to the contributions of Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin (b. 1910), Philippe Gignoux (b. 1931), and Jean Kellens (b. 1944) on Iranian religions; to Jean-Pierre Vernant (b. 1914), Pierre Vidal-Naquet (b. 1930), and Marcel Detienne (b. 1935), whose approach to Greek mythology and ritual, particularly sacrifice, has influenced scholarship far beyond the domain of classical studies. As influential as French work on Greek religion is that produced by scholars associated with the École Française d'Extrême-Orient (established in 1900), especially the research on Daoism by Schipper and Anna Seidel (1938–1991). On the other hand, the absence of chairs devoted to the comparative study or the theory of religion at the Fifth Section of the École Pratique des Hautes Études and at the Collège de France has resulted in the neglect of theory as well as in the sparse participation of French scholars in the most recent international gatherings devoted to the study of religions. It may be pointed out in this context that the theoretical introductory chapter in the *Histoire des religions* edited by Puech was written by an Italian scholar, Angelo Brelich (1913–1977). That Brelich was invited to write that chapter, and that Dario Sabbatucci contributed the essay on "Kultur und Religion" for the *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe*, is an indication of the esteem in which Italian scholarship on religion is held. This prestige is inextricably related to the work of Raffaele Pettazzoni (1883–1959), holder of the first Italian chair of history of religions at the University of Rome (1924). The author of books on the ancient mysteries, Iranian religions, and, above all, conceptions of supreme beings, as well as the founder of *Numen, International Review for the History of Religions* (1954–) and president of the International Association for the History of Religions (1950–1959), Pettazzoni was a proponent of the comparative method, which he pursued with rigor. Pettazzoni was also the teacher of several scholars—Brelich, Sabbatucci, Ernesto de Martino (1908–1965) and Ugo Bianchi (1922–1995)—who in turn trained most of the current holders of chairs in religion in Italy. On the other hand, the study of Indian, Tibetan, and Iranian religions was promoted by Giuseppe Tucci, among whose disciples we may mention the Indologist Raniero Gnoli (b. 1931) and the specialist in

Iranian religions Gherardo Gnoli (b. 1937). Among German-speaking scholars who have pursued historico-philological approaches while also being concerned with theoretical issues we may refer again to Colpe and Rudolph, and to Burkert, whose research on ritual, sacrifice and violence, is as influential as his work on ancient Greek religion. We find the same combination of historico-philological expertise and theoretical concerns in the next generation: the already mentioned Gladigow, Stolz, and Kippenberg, along with Hubert Seiwert (b. 1949), Seiwert being the only one among those named here to have occupied himself with religion in East Asia. In addition to the British anthropologists and historians of religion mentioned throughout this essay—Tylor, Lang, Smith, Frazer, Marett, Evans-Pritchard, Zaehner, Horton—mention must be made of the substantial contributions to the study of Iranian religions made by Mary Boyce (b. 1920) and to David Martin's (b. 1929) work on the sociology of religion.

The Scandinavian scene was dominated for many years by Geo Widengren (1907–1996), a scholar of ancient Near Eastern, especially Iranian, religions (Iranian studies having flourished in Scandinavia since the days of Rask and N. L. Westergaard [1815–1878] to those of Nyberg, Wikander and, more recently, Jes P. Asmussen [1928–2002] and Anders Hultgård [b. 1936]). Widengren was also concerned with methodological and theoretical issues, to which he devoted numerous articles as well as a work of synthesis, the *Religionsphänomenologie*, which despite its title has little in common with the approaches found in van der Leeuw's or Heiler's phenomenologies. Widengren's achievements should not prevent us from remembering Haralds Biezais (1909–1995), who in addition to studies of Latvian religion made important theoretical contributions. The same applies to the Finnish folklorist Lauri Honko (1932–2002), author of works on Finnish mythology and comparative religion. The study of religion continues to be pursued with distinction in Scandinavia, where large departments of religious studies are found in the capital cities as well as in Uppsala, Turku, Århus, and Bergen. In the Netherlands, the country that saw the creation of some of the first chairs of history of religions, the study of religion has continued to be carried out on several areas; it is sufficient to consider the significance of Schipper and Erik Zürcher (b. 1928) in Sinology and of Jan Gonda (1905–1991) and J. C. Heesterman (b. 1925) in Indology. Among scholars who have made contributions to the study of the historiography and theory of religion, myth, ritual and magic beyond their primary areas of expertise we may mention Jacques Waardenburg (b. 1930), Henk S. Versnel (b. 1936), and Jan Bremmer. In assessing the significance of the Netherlands for the study of religion one must not forget the role played by E. J. Brill, the publishing house active in Leiden for more than three centuries.

In Switzerland, the country in which a chair in history of religions was created as early as 1873, the study of religion is pursued in a way that exemplifies the various approaches mentioned in this article. Thus while Philippe Borgeaud (b. 1946) has made substantial contributions to the study of Greek religion as well as to theoretical and historiographic issues, Martin Baumann (b. 1961) studies diaspora Hinduism. In Spain, the post-Franco period has seen a resurgence of scholarship in religion, whose most important practitioner was for decades Julio Caro Baroja, author of works on witchcraft and popular religion, including one on "the complex forms of religious life" in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain. In Portugal as well, important work on heterodox forms of religion has been carried out by Francisco Bethencourt and José Pedro Paiva.

We may conclude this survey by mentioning the establishment in 2000 of a European Association for the Study of Religions (EASR), to which most European national associations are affiliated. As of 2004 the EASR had held four international conferences: Cambridge (2001), Paris (2002), Bergen (2003), and Santander (2004).

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GUSTAVO BENAVIDES (2005)

TRANSCULTURATION AND RELIGION: RELIGION IN THE FORMATION OF THE MODERN UNITED STATES

While it has usually been conceived as a Christian nation, founded by Protestant idealists, the United States was actually formed by a series of cultural interactions and exchanges between indigenous and immigrant communities involving a tremendous variety of people from Africa, Asia, Polynesia, South America, and North America, as well as Europe, with a wide array of religious orientations that include traditions on both global and local scales. The narrative that Christianity is the religion of the United States is not the whole story, as it turns out, and not even half the story. As a result of these realizations, those involved in the academic study of "American religion" have made strenuous efforts since the 1980s to include in their scope religious traditions other than the "great" textual traditions of Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, Judaism, and so on. Native American, African, and African-American traditions, as well as issues concerning ethnic and gender studies, have pressured scholarly academic models for understanding "American religion" to such an extent that new and revised methods are needed to analyze the phenomenon of religion in America. "American religion" is generally understood as the spread of denominational Christianity across the continent. A struggle for inclusion of traditions other than Christianity into the religious narrative of the United States is not just a struggle to include distinctive types of religious institutions. Nor should it be seen as a constant conflict about religious truth and certainty between the different groups of people who populate the United States. Inclusion of a religious dynamic in the formation of the United States requires a shift in our understanding of what constitutes *religion*. Understanding how exchanges between groups created a unique American identity requires us to characterize *religion* in ways that include the innovations of indigenous people who did not form religious institutions nor utilize or create written texts, but nevertheless had a tremendous influence on the unique cultural development and character of the United States.

The history of cultural contact in the United States is one between immigrant and indigenous groups and between immigrant and indigenous religious orientations. This way of organizing the place of religion in the formation of the United States requires that we look at religion as *habitation* and as *exchange*. Defining *religion* as habitation and exchange, rather than as an ideological position, shifts *religion* away from what groups believe to what they do, from what they think to how they act. For example, on one hand religion was a pivotal element in the justification of colonial occupation of the lands of Native Americans and was utilized in the justification of slavery and thus the removal of millions of Africans from their native land in what was called the *Middle Passage*. Religion was used to justify violence against women and other indentured servants until the implementation of cultural reforms beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. Religion and religious language have been used to exclude Latin Americans from decent working conditions and to justify the forced internment of Japanese people during World War II. Racialized views of entire populations were imagined and then codified by law using the moral language of religion. On the other hand, religion helped these oppressed groups of people overcome their difficult situa-

tions and, in the case of African Americans, inhabit the New World in ways that differed from the slave owners. Distinctive styles of *inhabiting* the world, therefore, are primarily religious in nature.

Native American groups offer the clearest contrast to the immigrant styles of colonizers. Native American religious styles of habitation and exchange highlight aspects of religious practice among other groups of people that might be called *indigenous religion* among these groups. Investigating the "religion" of Native Americans in light of cultural contact with immigrant people is fundamental to forming a more complete picture of the cultural formation of the United States, because Native American priorities involving community formation and sustainability are radically different from those that have dominated American culture. The religious concerns and priorities of Native American traditions can be fruitfully applied to other groups, making *indigenous religions* a category with wide application that reveals unsung and unnoticed religious elements of all human communities, particularly those that have not been part of the religious narrative of the United States. Even though "indigenous religion" should be seen as a theme running through all religious activity, here we will emphasize Native American religious traditions in contact with colonizing and dominating forces in the United States as the clearest expression of an indigenous perspective.

Situating Native American traditions in the development of American religion has proven to be particularly vexing. Texts (sacred or otherwise) in the conventional sense of a phonetically inscribed folio have not traditionally held the same privileged place in Native traditions. Consequently, a reliance on texts by ethno-historians and scholars of Native American religions has tended to marginalize indigenous interpretations of sacred realities in favor of what has been written down by colonial people. As a result, Native American traditions have had less influence in considerations of what constitutes authentic American religious life. Through the development of new ways of thinking about religion and new approaches to Native American "religions," a greater understanding of women, African-American, and Latino/a traditions, and what those traditions say about the meaning of America, can be appreciated.

Part of the difficulty of including indigenous traditions in American religions is that we have lacked methods of interpretation. The disciplines of history of religions, comparative religions, and anthropology of religions, among others, have commonly been associated with the study of various native, or indigenous, traditions and have formed new and important methodologies, strategies, and insights into the religious dimensions of American life beyond textual evidences. While the study of "American religion" has tended to stress the historical development of Christian denominations as revealed in historical texts, aspects of the history of religions, for example, have emphasized a comparative framework that seeks to situate scholarly interpretations within the distinctive meanings of material existence.

The primary focus of the study of American religions has been on the immigrant people and cultures that followed the "discovery" of America. The stories of the "discovery of America" are powerful cosmogonic myths, or founding myths, that communicate the meaning of inhabiting the Americas for immigrant people. Notable explorers (in order and tied to European kingdoms) like Christopher Columbus, Hernando Cortés, Juan Ponce de León, Hernando de Soto, Jacques Cartier, Samuel de Champlain, Sir Walter Raleigh, Giovanni da Verrazano, Commodore Matthew Perry, Daniel Boone, Robert Peary, and General George Armstrong Custer as well as countless others, are regarded as culture heroes of what came to be known as the United States. They articulate the immigrant mythology of American culture. They outline a religious dynamic of inhabiting the land as immigrants in opposition to those who are indigenous. Most often the heroic deeds of discoverers and explorers came at the price of devaluing and exterminating the native inhabitants. More importantly, however, these founding mythologies of discovery have devalued an indigenous religious awareness in United States culture. More highly prized is the conquering spirit of the rugged individual rather than the warrior who is fighting in defense of family and community. In general, a religious appreciation of the environment as a sacred reality has suffered the most, as has regard for the dead and for the living spiritual beings of the earth.

The religious styles of colonizing people have usually been organized, and therefore studied, by means of sacred and secular texts, making them mobile ideologies. Native American traditions have been neglected because their religious styles are indigenous (tied to styles in which people *inhabit* their homes). The reconstruction of early encounters between indigenous and immigrant people has relied almost entirely on those rare inclusions of indigenous peoples in the writing of the colonists. Any attempt to include Native American religions into the field of American religion must therefore: (1) shift the definition of *religion* from a structure of belief or ideology to *religion* as an orientation to material life, in particular an orientation to the meaning of land, and thus (2) use a comparative method that can bring together both the indigenous (oral/performative) and textual spheres of the religions of the Americas, while (3) leaving room for a process of self-conscious, self-critical reflection in such a way as to (4) reveal the deep and abundant cultural exchanges that have occurred throughout American history between the distinctive communities that led to the culture of the United States.

Many Native Americans who still practice their ceremonial traditions and who are asked about their religion are quick to point out that they have none. Instead, they practice a *spirituality*. This is not to say they are atheistic, nor are they materialistic. On the contrary, they understand their ceremonial and spiritual practices as completely integral to the rest of their lives. The objection to *religion*, therefore, is that their practices cannot be distinguished from the political, eco-

nomic, sexual, familial, social, cultural, and other dimensions of their lives. In fact, it is a violent misrepresentation to reduce these traditions to the category of *religion* because they are not practices that are easily isolatable from other aspects of human existence. Native American ceremonies are pragmatic strategies for interacting with a living world. Ceremonies address living beings who are responsible for food, healing, knowledge, and prosperity. *Habitation*, for indigenous people, is about forming relationships with a variety of beings, human and otherwise, who populate the world, so that they may live a happy life. These beings include water, rocks, trees, animals, birds, ancestors, stars, sun, moon, and the Creator or Great Spirit. Maintaining relationships with a host of living beings requires being constantly aware of continuous exchanges between themselves and other-than-human beings. It is often said that indigenous people are never alone. This is also an important point for communities of immigrant people, including minority communities, as well as zealous Christian, Jewish, and Muslim communities, who cannot and will not separate the "religious" from the "material" dimensions of their lives. Indeed, throughout the world an understanding of the world as saturated with spiritual beings is one of the defining characteristics of the origins of religious perception.

To the consternation of culture leaders, there persists a constant element of what might be called *superstition* among modern and civilized people. Active beliefs in spirits and the possibility of communicating with them, divination (or gaining knowledge from spiritual resources through tarot cards or séances, for example), and healing with hands, faith, snakes, and other spiritual means have not only persisted but seem to be thriving in some quarters. These can be seen as examples of the persistence of indigenous religious practices. Some of these practices are well organized among Haitians in New York City, or Cubans in Miami, for example, within the practice of vodou or Lukumi. Seventh-day Adventists who actively practice Mary Baker Eddy's injunction of "healing by faith alone"; Spiritualists, Pagans, and Neopagans who consult the spirits of the dead (many of those traditions that are regarded as "New Age" religions); fundamentalist and evangelical Christians, Jews, and Muslims who are actively battling the forces of the devil in their community and their country; and even Catholics and other members of mainline churches who are active in petitioning saints and other spiritual beings for healing, special consideration of their problems, and the suffering of their loved ones, and who are witness to apparitions of the Virgin Mary—in this context, are all continuing *indigenous* religious practices. When considering religion as an active force in the development of American culture it is not helpful, therefore, to think of religion as an item of personal belief, as is made explicitly clear in American constitutional understandings and interpretations. Rather it is more useful to understand religion as a feature of material life; what Charles Long has called the "materiality of religion." To understand the transcultural expressions of religion in the United States it is vital to first understand the materiality of religion, in contrast to more conventional constructions of religion as an ideology, because only then can one appreciate how material exchanges between indigenous and immigrant communities, economic networks, and relationships with animals, landscapes, food, and so on can reveal larger "religious" realities in the formation of the United States.

A fertile ground for these methodological considerations is a reflection on distinctive meanings of inhabiting the American landscape. The meaning of land has long been considered a primary consideration for understanding Native American religions. Sacred spaces and ritual topographies have been important starting points for reflecting on the manifold meanings of these traditions. By utilizing indigenous meanings of land we can reflect on the significance of land in other forms of American religious life. In contrast to indigenous modes of occupying the Americas there have been colonial, modern, and postmodern options. Until fairly recently discussions of "sacred space" have generally been neglected in American religion. The reason for this is that immigrant religions, like Christianity for example, did not originate in the Americas. Sacred places for the religions of the globe are now foreign places in Israel, Saudi Arabia, Italy, and so on. This means that the United States has never been *founded* (Eliade) or revealed to immigrant populations due to their having neglected the revelations of indigenous people. Because of an immigrant emphasis on conquest, extermination of Native Americans, theories of moral and cultural superiority, enslavement of workers, and an understanding of land as private property, the meaning of inhabiting the United States remains a strange and disturbing question for most Americans.

The contentiousness of various meaningful landscapes in American religious life can be highlighted by utilizing categories of *locative* religions, descriptive of Native American and indigenous traditions, in contrast with *utopian* (from the Greek "no place") religions, descriptive of the great textual and global traditions since 1492. These modes of meaningfully occupying the Americas interact with each other, often with catastrophic results, and can be organized around issues of colonialism, industrialism, and consumerism. Although these are expressions of a modern material worldview that were initiated with the "Age of Discovery," they are also mythic ideologies that are essentially religious in nature. Thus the meanings of the material and economic valuations of the American landscape necessarily come into play, resulting in a shift of our definitions of religion away from belief—interior to human consciousness and faith communities (or an anthropocentric understanding of religion), to religion as a set of material practices (i.e., materiality)—specifically, a practice of occupying or residing on land. This follows Long's definition of religion as "orientation in the ultimate sense, that is, how one comes to terms with the ultimate significance of one's place in the world" (1986, p. 7).

A key organizing principle for a coherent and useful history of American religions is *contact*. Religious contact is de-

fined by the interaction of human groups in a material context but involving a collision of cosmologies, or worldviews. Initially, cultural contact between immigrant and indigenous peoples was organized on the periphery of what is now the United States. In the Southeast, contact between Spanish *conquistadores* and native populations was initiated in Florida, Louisiana, and along the Mississippi River where Spaniards came into contact with densely settled areas that were reminiscent of the urban populations of central Mexico. In the Southwest, Spaniards from Florida met an enormous diversity of native cultural groups speaking a host of distinctive languages in what are now New Mexico, Arizona, and California. In the Northeast and along the eastern seaboard, Dutch, French, and English explorers came into long-term contact with various indigenous confederations of smaller tribal groups. Trading with these groups over a period of close to two hundred years led to incredible wealth among Europeans and an ongoing exchange of ideas. From these areas of contact the United States took on its unique cultural characteristics. African slaves were forced to relocate to North America to grow new kinds of plants introduced to Europeans by Native Americans. Latin Americans have the oldest communities in the United States, having come to North America with the early Spanish explorers. Over the centuries they learned to live with local native populations in areas of the Southwest. In addition, Nordic communities in Minnesota have a long history of residing in the Americas, making this a unique place in the cultural formation of the northern Midwest. French communities like New Orleans were originally colonial outposts that evolved with a unique blend of Caribbean, African, and French-Canadian influences.

The most notable arenas of cultural contact between immigrant and indigenous people have taken place in the heart of the country. Contact between the Lakota (i.e., Sioux) and the United States military in the post–Civil War era, for example, resulted in the famed "Indian Wars" of the Great Plains. Colonists, gold prospectors, soldiers, and other immigrants started the westward migration across the North American continent. Standing in the way of this massive resettlement were indigenous people of a wide variety of linguistic and cultural orientations. Immigrants understood that land was to be possessed by human beings and that it was evaluated only in monetary terms. This stands in stark contrast to indigenous sensibilities, which understand that earth is a living "Mother" to human beings and other types of beings. Therefore, mining and farming (particularly with the deep-plow techniques brought by Europeans) were inconceivably violent activities for indigenous people. The collision between immigrant and indigenous communities largely involved their differing views of the land and thus its ultimate value. These conflicts had catastrophic results at Little Big Horn (called Greasy Grass by the Lakota), Wounded Knee, Sand Creek, and many other places. Such conflicts reveal that these opposing perspectives are fundamentally about religious orientations to the land, as well as political, economic, and social orientations.

But contact implies more than "cultural contact," or the interaction between humans. Of critical importance for the survival of all communities is also contact between human beings and the material world they inhabit. To explore this dimension of contact requires an assessment of both the interaction between the indigenous and immigrant groups that inhabit the Americas, and the construction and organization of their respective landscapes. One question might be: What are the material conditions of the land—riverine, oceanic, forested, desert, and so on—that organize religiousness in America? Because Native American traditions are not organized by texts, sacred landscapes and ritual life are the primary data by which to understand these traditions. Immigrant religious traditions, however, have largely been studied from historical and textual perspectives. A focused phenomenological perspective could reflect on larger issues surrounding the development of religion in the United States. For example, as we have discussed, indigenous people have an understanding of their landscape as a living being that is "peopled" with a host of living beings. In contrast to that view are the built landscapes of the expansive cities in the United States—New York, Boston, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Saint Louis, New Orleans, San Francisco, Los Angeles. They each reflect a distinctive character that orients them to their history of migrations and to their landscapes (i.e., human and "natural" contexts). The urban environments were made possible by ideological worldviews of colonialism, mercantilism, and consumerism (to name a few). There were, however, large-scale indigenous cities on this continent well before the formation of the United States. These are most often associated with the Mississippian cultures. Remnants of their cities are found near Saint Louis and along the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio rivers. The difference between indigenous and immigrant understandings of the built landscape can be characterized as locative and utopian. As in Mesoamerica, with which indigenous cities north of the Rio Grande have great affinity, Mississippian cities are oriented around a founding hierophany, or "manifestation of the sacred" (Eliade). These cities function fundamentally as ceremonial centers and, as a consequence, they exert enormous political and economic control over the surrounding landscape. They are locative in the sense that the city exists only with respect to the sacred realities that preexist the structures built by human beings. They are built to honor and celebrate the spiritual beings of the material world. In stark contrast the modern American city is a utopian construction. It is built as a celebration of the human spirit. Most often cities are attempts to express a perfect world that lives in the human imagination. Very little attention is paid to the living beings that preexist its current formulation. Indeed the modern American city is conceived and built at odds with the environment.

Immigrant and indigenous communities also have distinctive understandings of the medium of exchange.

Throughout the history of the United States, fundamental to immigrant and utopian worldviews is a confidence in money and its power. Currency is a reflection of the United States, of its power and prestige all over the world, in valuing and evaluating all material life. Whatever other names of worldviews can be utilized to characterize a given era of the United States, money is always the common denominator that unifies the nation. But it is important to recall that money has no intrinsic value ("not worth the paper it's printed on"); its value is derived only from the symbols it holds. Yet, at the same time, money is a "total fact" of modern life. Its ability to empower and peripheralize individuals and communities is awe-inspiring. So money is *the* religion of the United States. It is the medium of exchange between human beings, and it undergirds a utopian vision that has been with Americans since the Pilgrims sailed to New England with the financial assistance of venture capitalists in London. Money is symbolic, "faith-based," and the basis of ideologies.

Likewise indigenous people have their own mediums of exchange. An important case of an indigenous system interacting with money is the *wampum* of the Haudenosaunee (better known as the Iroquois). Wampum is a worked shell bead that was manufactured along the eastern seaboard. Its colors of purple (black) and white had, and still have, cosmological significance for the Haudenosaunee. Purple is associated with the earth, the night, and the mischievous forces of creation, and white is associated with the sky, the day, and the benign forces of creation. The story of creation includes stories of the creator twins who embody these opposing forces. Wampum is also featured in the story of the founding of the Great Law of Peace that marks the beginning of the League of the Iroquois, or the Haudenosaunee, which is composed of the Seneca, Tuscarora, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk. Wampum has been used continuously among the Haudenosaunee in ceremonies for the harvest, for beings of the sky and earth, for the installation of chiefs and clan mothers, and for a host of other activities.

Throughout U.S. history, however, the Dutch, French, English, and Americans had a different view of wampum. It was seen as a monetary item that was used to gain access to beaver pelts. Its exchange value was directly related to the transatlantic trade in beaver pelts. This was one of the linchpins in the development of the North American continent. New York City, which was founded as New Amsterdam, could not have developed into its present form without the trade between European and Native American people in beaver pelts. For colonists, therefore, wampum was money. As money it was involved in a radically different cosmology of relations than for the Haudenosaunee. Both Europeans and Native Americans acknowledged wampum as a viable system of exchange, but for opposing reasons. For Europeans wampum was money and could be utilized to expand their colonial kingdoms. It was seen as functioning in the service of the utopian ideal of expanding a Christian empire of God. For the Haudenosaunee, wampum was a medium of exchange because it embodied the workings of cosmological understandings. It expanded the Great Law of Peace to other human communities.

An important example of a religious *contact zone*, a physical context that forms the basis for the generation of new religions, is the Erie Canal. Most Americans view water in marked contrast to the Haudenosaunee. Since the end of the eighteenth century there has been an aggressively dominant meaning of water. The Erie Canal, the most important major hydrological project of the early nineteenth century, was part of a canal building phase initiated in the 1820s and 1830s. The Erie Canal connected the Hudson and Mohawk rivers to Lake Erie, and was used to move remote agricultural, mining, and forestry products through New York City to the rest of the world. As envisioned by powerful bankers and merchants, the Erie Canal was an ambitious enterprise, predating the railroad, that connected New York City to the interior of the continent.

The Erie Canal's heyday corresponds directly to the era of the "Burned over District," a site of intense evangelical fervor and religious experimentation in the early nineteenth century that was said to have swept through this landscape like a brushfire. Historians of American religion cannot understand key phenomena like the Second Great Awakening and westward migration without an adequate understanding of the Burned over District. Along the banks of the canal important religious groups emerged, including the Mormons, Spiritualists, and Millerites. In contrast to the locative character of Haudenosaunee tradition, various self-conscious utopian experimental communities sprang up, including the Oneida and Shaker communities. The evangelical fervor in such New York cities as Utica, Syracuse, and Rochester likewise follows the canal. We can ask, then, what were the consequences of canals—or the industrialization of water—for the development of American religions? In the canal zone people of various ethnic and linguistic communities from all over the world were pushed into direct contact with one another and, more importantly, into contact with a new kind of proto-industrial landscape. Russians, Irish, Poles, Africans, Italians, and others who had recently immigrated to America were dislocated, placeless people, and therefore, for reasons of survival, strained toward the realization of a utopian vision. Is a utopian religious option a consequence of an industrialization of land and water? How are American religions tied to interpretations of the landscape? Utopianism, or the formation of a perfect place, is emphasized in American religious life, but contrasts starkly with the locative emphasis of Native American traditions. This may also help explain the importance of strong millenarian elements in these religious traditions, as religious utopianism usually looks toward a transcendent vision of salvation or the perfection of human society. It likewise offers insights into the symbolic and mythic structures that have been assumed by America's economic and political institutions.

The example of religion along the Erie Canal illustrates how the landscape is fashioned to resemble a sacred world

by human imagination and labor. The assumption, however, is that the landscape does not necessarily reflect a sacred reality previous to human intervention. In both indigenous and utopian contexts the landscape is understood as sacred. But these worldviews differ dramatically in how human beings understand their relation to the land. An interesting and important dimension of this comparison is transcendentalism. The transcendentalists can be seen as utopian in their emphasis on the radical disjunction of the human and "natural" worlds. While they were less concerned with "scaping" the land, a preservationist perspective is more concerned with shifting the terms of a meaningful existence from human beings to nature (devoid of humans).

As Long writes, the "myth of the New World obscured the reality of the contact . . . [w]e know, for example, that Europeans in North America were absolutely dependent on Indian culture for several generations after their arrival. We know that North America was not a 'virgin land.' What is more important, the early European settlers knew it!" (1986, pp. 114–115). More is being learned about the importance of cultural contact between indigenous and immigrant traditions in the formation of American culture. Musical styles like the blues, jazz, rock, folk, Motown, rhythm and blues, and hip-hop are all the result of cultural exchanges. Knowledge of foods in the New World transformed the Old World. Perhaps the most profound exchange, however, was the inspiration of Haudenosaunee structures of government on the development of democracy in the United States. Chiefs of the Iroquois would often sit in council with colonial leaders discussing the way to form a sensible, representative government. In 1987, the United States Congress officially thanked the Haudenosaunee for their role in forming the United States.

The legacy of cultural contact between indigenous and immigrant orientations in the development of the United States has not been a happy one, but neither has it been all bad. The Americas have been a place well suited for religious innovation and tremendous religious creativity. This is not likely to change. Many of the leading intellectuals of the nineteenth century were certain that as human beings progressed they would no longer need religion. None would have predicted, at that time, that religion would play as vital a role in American life as it does today. Material conditions of the past, including cultural contact, geography, and economics, have crafted the unique religious character of the United States.

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PHILIP P. ARNOLD (2005)

VAIṢṆAVISM: AN OVERVIEW [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]

Scholarship on Vaiṣṇavism increasingly acknowledges that the term *Vaiṣṇavism* can only be used as a broad heuristic de-

vice to refer to various religious texts and practices that center around the figures of Viṣṇu, Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyaṇa, and Rāma. Thus, recent scholarship has moved away from attempts to establish a linear chronology for the emergence of religious movements associated with each of these figures and the subsequent amalgamation of their cults because of the difficulty of retrieving the social and political background of these traditions prior to the sixth century CE. As a result, there is now an increasing emphasis on the specificity and diversity of regional traditions that emerged after this period, accompanied by a new historiographical sensitivity seeking to dismantle monolithic and essentialist views of Vaiṣṇavism and *bhakti*. Important strands of this scholarship include work on the Pāñcarātra textual tradition, on Śrī Vaiṣṇavism and the Vaikhānasas, on the *nirguṇī bhakti* traditions of North India, and, finally, on a new devotion to Rāma and his devotee Hanumān that is closely associated with the rise of Hindu religious nationalism.

PĀÑCARĀTRA STUDIES. Recent research on the development of the Vaiṣṇava Tantric tradition of Pāñcarātra has yielded rich if tentative results. It is now being suggested that the earliest strata of important texts, the *Jayākhya*, *Sattvata*, and *Pauṣkara saṃhitās,* are likely to have been compiled in Kashmir around the eighth to ninth centuries CE, reflecting a ritual system emphasizing private worship, much influenced by earlier Śaiva Siddhānta models already in existence in Kashmir. A chronologically later layer of South Indian texts, such as the *Lakṣmī Tantra* and the *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā,* reflect eleventh-century Kashmiri influence, with the former text reproducing a goddess-centered theology that owes much to Śākta Śaivism. After the eleventh century the major influence on South Indian Pāñcarātra was Śrī Vaiṣṇavism and its philosophical base, Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta, an influence seen in the increasing use of the terminology of the latter, a stress on the soteriological doctrine of self-surrender *(śaraṇāgati, prapatti)* instead of yogic and meditative practice, a substitution of the mention of older Tantric forms of initiation *(dīkṣā)* with the Śrī Vaiṣṇava initiation of *pañcasaṃskāra,* and an emphasis on public temple worship rather than private worship. The exact contours of this general transition, as well as the sheer heterogeneity of the texts (for it is now accepted that there is no uniform Pāñcarātra doctrine), remain to be mapped out through the painstaking study of individual texts.

ŚRĪ VAIṢṆAVISM. Research on this religious tradition of a South Indian community of Viṣṇu devotees whose ultimate god is Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, together with his consort Śrī-Lakṣmī, focused in the 1970s on epigraphy and temple records. This evidence, detailing the interaction between kings, local chieftains, and religious heads, has led to the mapping of the temple as a sociocultural institution and a site of disputed power. The rise of sectarianism within the religious community, which gained strength after the sixteenth century, resulting in its split into the two subgroups—"Northerners" (Vaṭakalai) and "Southerners" (Teṅkalai)—is now linked to the control of important temples. Further, such fissiparous tendencies within the community also strengthened with colonialism, which intervened in the intricate balance of power forged in local communities between various groups. The result was the fragmentation of the idea of worship as a cooperative enterprise.

Substantial work has also emerged on a long neglected area of Śrī Vaiṣṇava studies: Tamil devotional poetry, the *Divyaprabandham*, and the commentaries on it. The religion of the authors of this poetry, the Āḻvārs, is now seen as a composite arising out of the mingling of Northern sources of Kṛṣṇa myth and poetry and the Tamil Caṅkam literature, eventually reaching a pan-Indian audience through the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The schismatic period of the tradition, starting from the thirteenth century, has also been subjected to unprecedented scrutiny with an understanding of how the mingling of Sanskrit and Tamil, the hermeneutical strategies, and the development of new genres such as hagiography influenced and changed theological doctrines.

VAIKHĀNASAS. Vaikhānasa is, along with Pāñcarātra, one of the two ritual traditions followed in the Vaiṣṇavite temple worship of South India. Less well-known than the Pāñcarātra, the tradition has come into prominence in some recent scholarship. We learn that the Vaikhānasas were originally a renunciate Vedic tradition, with the self-perception that they were a Vedic *śākhā*, who evolved into a community of professional priests practicing temple rituals. Epigraphy from the eleventh century depicts this transition, showing that the Vaikhānasas competed with the Pāñcarātrins to be priests at Vaiṣṇava temples, gradually experiencing an erosion of their powers in the competition with Śrī Vaiṣṇavas. Their medieval corpus, composed largely between the ninth and the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, stresses their congenital Vaiṣṇava identity; unlike a Pāñcarātrin, a Vaikhānasa did not need special initiation to become a Vaiṣṇava. The theology of these texts was a kind of theistic Sāṃkhya, with a theogonical conception of the five manifestations *(pañcamūrti)* of Viṣṇu as Viṣṇu Puruṣa, Satya, Acyuta, and Aniruddha. A substantial portion of these texts is dedicated to various kinds of prescriptions relating to temple worship, as well as forms of initiation for various categories of aspirants to Vaikhānasa worship. The later literature of the Vaikhānasas shows a doctrinal dependence on Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, which must be viewed as part of an acculturative process that accelerated after the fourteenth century.

NORTH INDIAN *NIRGUṆĪ BHAKTI*. The recent study of North Indian *bhakti* traditions emphasizes the difference between the *saguṇī* and *nirguṇī bhakti* traditions of North India. Here, the shift is away from obvious similarities of theology—stemming from the same historical roots—to the scrutiny of the differences of social ideology and praxis. *Saguṇī bhakti*, even while it admits subaltern groups such as the *dalits* and women into its fold, remains anchored in the caste and *varṇa* model of society, a fact that is also mirrored in the caste status of the founders of *saguṇī* movements and their followers. In contrast, the exploration of the *nirguṇī*

traditions of the devotional movements of Kabir, Raidās, Gurū Nānak, Dādū, and others stemming from the fifteenth century onward shows that both the founders and the followers have tended to be from subaltern groups. Further, *nirguṇī bhakti* emerged as a direct challenge to the social ideology of *saguṇī bhakti* in its radical critique of caste, even while it incorporated much of the latter's beliefs and practices. This, in turn, has led to the current exploration of it as a movement of protest against the hegemonic ideology of *saguṇī bhakti* and of modern Hindu society.

RĀMA BHAKTI. Devotion to the god-king Rāma has, since the mid-1980s, come to be tied to a militant Hindu nationalism and to a specific Hindu struggle to reoccupy his mythic birth site in the town of Ayodhyā. This struggle led to the destruction of the mosque that had long stood on the disputed site, the Babri Masjid, in 1992, an act carried out by Hindu nationalists, which threatened the secular fabric of India. The scholarship on what is uniformly seen as a new form of militant devotionalism to Rāma has thus come to acquire a historical urgency. It is the commonly held view that the convergence of *bhakti* toward Rāma and Hindu political power is not new. Thus, there was a rise in the importance of the Rāma cult from the twelfth century onward in north and central India at a historical juncture when there was a repeated threat from Afghan and Turkic invaders.

Nevertheless, the image of Rāma until recently in the pan-Indian tradition was that of the spiritualized king as well as suffering hero—the emphasis is on someone who bears adversity with fortitude, even while he takes up arms in a just cause against the demon-king, Rāvaṇa. This conception of Rāma is also reflected in the traditional iconography, which depicts a handsome, even androgynous youthful god who carries his bow and yet does not bear arms, who is always escorted by his wife Sītā, his brother Lakṣmana, and his devotee, the monkey Hanumān, and who exudes quietude, *śānta rasa*. In militant Hinduism there is a redrawing of these traditional paradigms reflected literally in the iconography. Here, Rāma comes to be identified with a Hinduism that has inclusivistic and monolithic claims, which refuses to acknowledge the heterogeneity of Hindu traditions, a Hinduism that is coeval with the territory of Bhārat. In this Hinduism, the "other" is the Muslim, now identified as the invading Mughal. The battle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa is now transposed into a battle between Rāma and the Mughal king Babar as the symbol of all Muslims. Through such a transposition religious antagonism is dignified as a heroic mythologically sanctioned conflict. The new valorization of Rāma is sanctioned by a new iconography that depicts him in a twofold way: either as poised to strike with his arrows, aggressively masculine and militaristic, or as Rāmlalā, the helpless child who is in need of protection from the enemy, who is the Muslim. In either case, the changed iconography of Rāma is but a graphic depiction of a new religious movement that lays claim to traditional structures but departs from them in radical ways.

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SRILATA RAMAN (2005)

VIVEKANANDA [FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS]. Narendranath Datta was born into a middle-class family of north Calcutta. He met Ramakrishna in November 1881, and, after obtaining a B.A. degree from the Scottish Church College, he became Ramakrishna's devotee in 1884. He tried to train as a lawyer, but his legal studies were interrupted after Ramakrishna's death in 1886, and he became a renunciant. Narendranath's ascetic wanderings in northern and southern India from 1887 to 1893 brought him into contact with a number of scholars, such as Pramadadas Mitra of Vārāṇasī, Paṇḍits Narayan Das and Sunderlal Ojha of Khetri, and Shankar Pandurang of Porbandar, with whom he studied Sanskrit and read Hindu texts. Raja Ajit Singh of Khetri and Alasinga Perumal of Madras provided financial backing for him to participate in the World's Parliament of Religions in September 1893 in Chicago. He traveled to the United States as Swami Vivekananda, the monastic name suggested most probably by the *raja* of Khetri.

VIVEKANANDA IN THE WEST. Vivekananda had not come to the Parliament as an invited speaker, but, at the recommen-

dations of John Henry Wright of Harvard and of a fellow Indian in the selection committee at Chicago, the Brāhmo scholar Protap Chunder Mozoomdar, he was admitted to the Parliament of Religions as a representative of the Hindu monastic order, and he spoke there on September 11, 1893.

In 1894 Vivekananda began to give lectures in which he proclaimed the anteriority and superiority of Hinduism over all other religions of the world and claimed that Christ's teachings were based on the Buddha's sermons, which were, in turn, derived from the Hindu Vedānta. He identified the Hindus with the Aryans and declared that Aryan civilization consisted of the Greek (aesthetic and immoral), Roman (imperial and organizational), and Hindu (metaphysical and spiritual).

VIVEKANANDA ON THE CASTE SYSTEM. Vivekananda justified the Hindu caste *(jāti)* system by arguing that it was conducive to individuality and diversity, as well as essential for Sanskrit learning, the foundation of the Hindu civilization. He harbored all the prejudices of the caste-conscious Bengali elite *(bhadralok),* proudly claiming his descent from the *kṣatriyas*, the warrior class, ranked second among the four classes (or *varṇa*s), though in fact he belonged to the *kāyastha* caste, generally subsumed under the third class, of merchants and professionals, the *vaiśya*s. And, while lamenting the degraded state of the lowest class, the *śūdras*, he stated that "Brahminhood is the ideal of humanity in India" and insisted that the "solution is not by bringing down the higher, but by raising the lower up to the level of the higher"—a task he assigned to a select band of young *saṃnyāsins* recruited from "the highest classes, not the lowest" (*Complete Works*, 1990, vol. 7, p. 406).

VIVEKANANDA'S PRACTICAL VEDĀNTA. Vivekananda's endorsement of the caste system undercut his claims for the inclusivity and catholicity of the Hindu philosophy called Vedānta, which he regarded as the practical religion of the Hindus and which he began to preach from the fall of 1894, hoping to render "the dry, abstract Advaita" something "living" and "poetic" (*Complete Works*, 1990, vol. 4, pp. 104–105). He delivered four lectures on Practical Vedānta in London on November 10–18, 1896. In various sermons delivered in the United States and England, Vivekananda preached that "the different sectarian systems of India all radiate from one central idea of unity in dualism. . . . This, which we see as many, is God"(*Complete Works*, 1990, vol. 8, p. 250).

Much of what Vivekananda said about the history and culture of India was derivative of the teachings of his contemporaries and predecessors in Bengal (Keshub Chandra Sen, Rajnarain Basu, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, and Rabindranath Tagore) and in the West (such as the German scholar of the Upaniṣads, Paul Deussen). Ramakrishna had utter contempt for Vedāntic knowledge, which he considered "the wisdom of a householder," deserving to be spat and urinated on, as he once quipped (Sil, 1998, pp. 162, 227). As Freda Matchett has demonstrated, Vivekananda distorted the mystico-spiritual visions and sermons of his teacher in order to align them with Śaṅkarācārya's Advaita (Monist) Vedānta. Vivekananda emphasized the efficacy of personal experience (*anubhava*) over scripture (*śruti*, the Vedas) as the source of the knowledge of Brahman. He equated *mokṣa* with the superconscious state, *nirvikalpa samādhi*. In this, Vivekananda's version of the Advaita Vedānta accommodated the anti-intellectual teachings of Ramakrishna, who had claimed that the pinnacle of his Vedāntic training was reached with his *nirvikalpa samādhi* under the mentorship of Totāpurī, a naked Vedāntist from the Punjab, and who also believed in the direct experience of the divine through *bhakti*. Vivekananda thus reformulated Advaita by devaluing scripture and privileging firsthand experience over intellection. This is what Vivekananda called *Practical Vedānta*.

VIVEKANANDA AND SOCIAL SERVICE. Vivekananda's humanitarian concern for the *gaṇa nārāyaṇa* or *daridra nārāyaṇa* (God as the poor multitude) was expressed in such statements as "Let her [India] arise—out of the peasants' cottage, grasping the plough; out of the huts of the fishermen, the cobbler, and the sweeper" (*Complete Works*, 1990, vol. 7, p. 27). Yet he does not seem to have been conscious of the efficacy of *jīvasevā* (service to humanity) prior to his Western travels; he began to proclaim the virtues of social service in India only upon his return in 1897. Moreover, he preached *jīvasevā* only to the upper classes, whom he advised to go out in the world and teach the poor, inter alia, religion, Sanskrit, astronomy, and geography. In a letter to Alasinga Perumal, he denied having ever supported social reform, for he regarded social and political improvements as secondary to religious regeneration. Throughout his life the Swami remained steadfast in his apolitical quiescence, without any understanding of the dynamics of social change. His final admonition was: "India is immortal if she persists in her search for God. But if she goes in for politics and social conflict, she will die" (Rolland, 1965, p. 168). Yet he founded the Ramakrishna Mission in Calcutta in the face of severe criticism by some of Ramakrishna's monastic and householder disciples, for Ramakrishna had contemptuously rejected philanthropy as a mark of arrogance and social service as an impediment to the spiritual goal of God-realization.

VIVEKANANDA ON WOMEN. Vivekananda inherited much of his gender consciousness from Ramakrishna's admonitions against women and wealth (*kāminī-kañcan*). He often confused femininity with effeminacy, identifying cowardice, lethargy, lust, and lure as characteristics of women. He claimed that Hindu women were the most spiritual in the world, but that contemporary Indian women were degenerate, lacking in spirituality, like American women, "the grandest women in the world," who were lustful and immoral. But, he argued, the Hindu scriptures were the only religious books in the whole world to praise women, and he proposed to educate Indian women so that they would be "fearless . . . and fit to be mothers of heroes," since the ideal for an Indian woman was either to be a wife and mother or to be a *saṃnyāsinī* (nun) dedicated to the welfare of humanity.

Though he made an impassioned plea for uplifting the standard and status of women, he defended the Hindu practice of widow-burning *(satī),* claiming, first, that the Hindus never believed in widow-burning even though they permitted the custom, and, second, that those widows who immolated themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands were either "fanatics" or considered *satī* a holy and happy occasion and went to their death agony merrily "believing for the most part that such an act meant the glories of Paradise" for themselves and their families (Burke, 1983–1984, vol. 1, p. 447).

VIVEKANANDA'S SELF-ASSESSMENT. Within a year of his instructions from the United States, Vivekananda wrote to his devotee Alasinga Perumal: "I have given up at present my plan for the education of the masses. It will come by degrees" (*Complete Works*, 1990, vol. 5, p. 67). His enthusiasm during his first visit to the United States and the United Kingdom (1893–1896) declined appreciably during his second visit (1899–1900). All available evidence suggests that from around 1897 he became despondent. A number of factors may have contributed to this feeling, including his failing health. His chronic diabetic condition, his weak heart and generally fragile health, his obesity, and his bouts of asthma, exacerbated by his unrestrained eating and smoking habits, had begun to take their toll. He was gradually overcome by a gnawing sense of nothingness and extinction. The Vedāntic eclecticism of his earlier years gave way to a parochial conviction in the merits of traditional Hinduism. He wrote in 1899 that "India's gods and goddesses are my God." In March 1901 he admitted in a public lecture in Dhaka (Bangladesh) that he belonged to the ancient sect that believed in the soteriological merits of the Ganges water. On June 17, 1900, he wrote from Calcutta to his American devotee Mary Hale: "This is the world, a hideous, beastly corpse. Who thinks of helping it is a fool!" Vivekananda died on July 4, 1902, at Belur, a few miles north of Calcutta, where a grand mausoleum dedicated to his memory stands today.

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SYNOPTIC OUTLINE OF CONTENTS

The outline presented here is intended to provide a general view of the conceptual scheme of this encyclopedia. It is divided into two parts: I. *The Religions* and II. *Religious Studies*. To show the conceptual components of the Encyclopedia's coverage, each of these general parts is subdivided into a variety of sections and sub-sections. The categories used in this outline are intended to be heuristic and thereby serviceable in guiding users through the Encyclopedia. Because the rubrics used as section headings are not necessarily mutually exclusive, certain entries in the Encyclopedia are listed in more than one section. Entries marked with an asterisk(*) are among those appearing in the Appendix in this volume.

I. THE RELIGIONS

Part I of this outline presents the Encyclopedia's coverage of the diversity of religious traditions organized according to historical, geographical, and ethnographic continuities. It is arranged in forty-four broad sections:

African Religions
African American Religions
Altaic Religions
Ancient Near Eastern Religions
Arctic Religions
Australian Indigenous Religions
Baltic Religion
Buddhism
Caribbean Religions
Celtic Religion
Chinese Religion
Christianity
Egyptian Religion
European Traditions
Germanic Religion
Greek Religion
Hellenistic Religions
Hinduism
Indian Religions
Indo-European Religions
Inner Asian Religions
Iranian Religions
Islam
Israelite Religion
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Judaism
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Mandaean Religion
Mesoamerican Religions
Mesopotamian Religions
New Religious Movements
North American Indian Religions
Oceanic Religions
Prehistoric Religions
Roman Religion
Sikhism
Slavic Religion
South American Indian Religions
Southeast Asian Religions
Thracian Religion
Tibetan Religions
Uralic Religions
Zoroastrianism

In addition to the lists of entries that appear under these forty-four broad headings, cross-references are given under the names of religious traditions outlined under other headings.

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  New Religious Movements
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Harris, William Wade
Kimbangu, Simon
Kinjikitile
Lenshina, Alice
Maranke, John
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Shembe, Isaiah
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Crummell, Alexander
Elijah Muḥammad
Father Divine
Garvey, Marcus
Jones, Absalom
Liele, George
Malcolm X
Seymour, William
Turner, Henry McNeal

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See also Mesoamerican Religions.

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- Gender and Religion
  - Gender and Ancient Near Eastern Religions
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  - Aboriginal Christianity
  - History of Study [First Edition]
  - History of Study [Further Considerations]

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Ambedkar, B. R.
Amoghavajra
Ani Lochen
Āryadeva
Asanga
Aśoka
Atīśa
Benchō
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Bodhidharma
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Klong chen rab 'byams pa (Longchenpa)
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[1] *For additional relevant biographies, see also in part II of this outline under* **The Study of Religion**, *sub-section on* **Scholars of Religion.**

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Cathari
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Christian Social Movements
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Crusades
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Gallicanism
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God in the New Testament
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Grace
Halloween
Healing and Medicine
Healing and Medicine in Christianity
Heresy
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Humanism
Hypostasis
Iconoclasm
Iconoclasm in the Byzantine Tradition
Iconography
Christian Iconography
Icons
Inquisition, The
The Inquisition in the Old World
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Jerusalem
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Jerusalem in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam
Justification
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Law and Religion in Medieval Europe
Liberation Theology
Literature
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Religious Dimensions of Modern Western Literature [Further Considerations]
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Lord's Prayer
Manichaeism
Manichaeism and Christianity
Marcionism
Merit
Christian Concepts
Ministry
Missions
Christian Missions
Modernism
Christian Modernism
Monastery
Monasticism
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Monophysitism
Montanism
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Religious Music in the West
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Native American Christianities
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Nestorianism
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  Christian Nuns and Sisters
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Persecution
  Christian Experience
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  Roman Catholic Pilgrimage in Europe
  Roman Catholic Pilgrimage in the New World
  Eastern Christian Pilgrimage
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  Christian Poetry
Polemics
  Jewish-Christian Polemics
  Christian-Muslim Polemics
Political Theology
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  Politics and Christianity
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  Christian Priesthood
Proofs for the Existence of God
Prophecy
  Biblical Prophecy
Reformation
Sacrament
  Christian Sacraments
Schism
  Christian Schism
Scholasticism
Soul
  Christian Concepts
Theology
  Christian Theology
Trent, Council of
Trinity
Two Books, The
Ultramontanism
Vatican Councils
  Vatican I
  Vatican II [First Edition]
  Vatican II [Further Considerations]
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Worship and Devotional Life
  Christian Worship

BIOGRAPHIES[2]
Abelard, Peter
Aksakov, Ivan
Albertus Magnus
Alcuin
Allen, Richard
Ambrose
Anselm
Anthony of Padua
Apollinaris of Laodicea
Arminius, Jacobus
Asbury, Francis
Athanasius
Athenagoras
Augustine of Canterbury
Augustine of Hippo
Avvakum
Bacon, Francis
Bacon, Roger
Barlaam of Calabria
Barth, Karl
Basil of Caesarea
Bauer, Bruno
Bede
Bellarmino, Roberto
Benedict of Nursia
Berdiaev, Nikolai
Berengar of Tours
Bergson, Henri
Bernard of Clairvaux
Beza, Theodore
Blondel, Maurice
Boehme, Jakob
Boethius
Bonaventure
Bonhoeffer, Dietrich
Boniface
Boniface VIII
Booth, William
Borromeo, Carlo
Browne, Robert
Brunner, Emil
Bruno, Giordano
Bucer, Martin
Bulgakov, Sergei
Bultmann, Rudolf
Bunyan, John
Bushnell, Horace
Butler, Joseph
Cabasilas, Nicholas
Calvert, George
Calvin, John
Campbell, Alexander
Canisius, Peter
Carroll, John
Cassian, John
Catherine of Siena
Cerularios, Michael
Channing, William Ellery
Charlemagne
Chrysostom
Clement of Alexandria
Clement of Rome
Clotilda
Coke, Thomas
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor
Comenius, Johannes Amos
Constantine
Contarini, Gasparo
Copernicus, Nicolaus
Cranmer, Thomas
Crummell, Alexander
Cyprian
Cyril and Methodius
Cyril I
Cyril of Alexandria
Cyril of Jerusalem
Daddy Grace
Damian, Peter
Dante Alighieri
Day, Dorothy
Descartes, René
Dionysius the Areopagite
Döllinger, Johann
Dominic
Dostoevsky, Fyodor
Duns Scotus, John
Dwight, Timothy
Eck, Johann
Eckhart, Johannes
Eddy, Mary Baker
Edwards, Jonathan
Emerson, Ralph Waldo
Ephraem of Syria
Erasmus, Desiderius
Eriugena, John Scottus
Eusebius
Eutyches
Evagrios of Pontus

[2] *For Old Testament figures, see in this outline under* **Israelite Religion.** *For additional relevant biographies, see also in part II of this outline under* **The Study of Religion,** *sub-section on* **Scholars of Religion.**

Farel, Guillaume
Fénelon, François
Feuerbach, Ludwig
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb
Ficino, Marsilio
Filaret of Moscow
Fillmore, Charles and Myrtle
Flacius, Matthias
Florenskii, Pavel
Fox, George
Francis of Assisi
Francke, August Hermann
Gage, Matilda Joslyn
Galileo Galilei
Garvey, Marcus
Gibbons, James
Gilson, Étienne
Gregory I
Gregory of Cyprus
Gregory of Datev
Gregory of Narek
Gregory of Nazianzus
Gregory of Nyssa
Gregory of Sinai
Gregory Palamas
Gregory the Illuminator
Gregory VII
Grotius, Hugo
Grundtvig, Nikolai Frederik Severin
Hegel, G. W. F.
Heidegger, Martin
Hildegard of Bingen
Hincmar
Hocking, William Ernest
Hooker, Richard
Hooker, Thomas
Hrotsvit
Hugh of Saint-Victor
Hume, David
Hus, Jan
Hutchinson, Anne
Ignatius Loyola
Ignatius of Antioch
Innocent I
Innocent III
Innokentii Veniaminov
Ioann of Kronstadt
Irenaeus
Irving, Edward
Isaac the Syrian
Isidore of Seville
Jaspers, Karl
Jeremias II
Jerome
Jesus
Joachim of Fiore
Joan of Arc
John of Damascus
John of the Cross
John the Baptist
John the Evangelist
John XXIII
Jones, Absalom
Joseph of Volokolamsk
Julian of Halicarnassus
Julian of Norwich
Justin Martyr
Justinian I
Kagawa Toyohiko
Kant, Immanuel
Kempe, Margery
Kepler, Johannes
Khomiakov, Aleksei
Kierkegaard, Søren
King, Martin Luther, Jr.
Kireevskii, Ivan
Knox, John
Koresh, David
Kosmas Aitolos
Las Casas, Bartolomé de
Law, William
Lee, Ann
Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm
Leo I
Leo XIII
Leontius of Byzantium
Lessing, G. E.
Lewis, C. S.
Liele, George
Locke, John
Lonergan, Bernard
Luke the Evangelist
Lull, Ramón
Luther, Martin
Makarios of Egypt
Marcion
Marie de l'Incarnation
Maritain, Jacques
Mark of Ephesus
Mark the Evangelist
Marsilius of Padua
Martineau, James
Mary
  An Overview
  Feminist Perspectives
Mary Magdalene
Mashtots', Mesrop
Mather Family
Matthew the Evangelist
Maurice, Frederick Denison
Maximos the Confessor
McPherson, Aimee Semple
Melanchthon, Philipp
Mercier, Désiré Joseph
Merezhkovskii, Dmitrii
Merton, Thomas
Möhler, Johann Adam
Montanus
Moody, Dwight L.
Morrison, Robert
Müntzer, Thomas
Nersēs of Cla
Nersēs the Great
Nestorius
Newman, John Henry
Newton, Isaac
Nicholas of Cusa
Niebuhr, Reinhold
Nietzsche, Friedrich
Nightingale, Florence
Nikephoros
Nikephoros Kallistos
Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain
Nikon
Noyes, John Humphrey
Olaf the Holy
Origen
Pachomius
Paracelsus
Pascal, Blaise
Patrick
Paul the Apostle
Paul VI
Pecham, John
Pelagius
Penn, William
Peter Lombard
Peter the Apostle
Petr Moghila
Petre, Maude Dominica
Photios
Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni
Pius IX
Pobedonostsev, Konstantin
Prokopovich, Feofan
Psellus, Michael
Pusey, Edward Bouverie
Rahner, Karl
Ramabai, Pandita
Rauschenbusch, Walter
Reimarus, Hermann Samuel

Ricci, Matteo
Ritschl, Albrecht
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques
Ruusbroec, Jan van
Sahak Parthev
Savonarola, Girolamo
Sayers, Dorothy L.
Scheler, Max
Schelling, Friedrich
Schleiermacher, Friedrich
Scholarios, Gennadios
Serafim of Sarov
Sergii
Sergii of Radonezh
Serra, Junipero
Servetus, Michael
Seton, Elizabeth
Severus of Antioch
Seymour, William
Shenoute
Simons, Menno
Skobtsova, Maria
Smith, Hannah Whitall
Smith, Joseph
Sölle, Dorothee
Solov'ev, Vladimir
Sorskii, Nil
Sozzini, Fausto Pavolo
Spener, Philipp Jakob
Spurgeon, Charles Haddon
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady
Strauss, David Friedrich
Suárez, Francisco
Swedenborg, Emanuel
Symeon the New Theologian
Tarasios
Tauler, Johannes
Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre
Tekakwitha, Kateri
Teresa of Ávila
Tertullian
Theodore of Mopsuestia
Theodore of Studios
Theodoret of Cyrrhus
Theodosius
Thérèse of Lisieux
Thomas à Kempis
Thomas Aquinas
Tikhon
Tikhon of Zadonsk
Tillich, Paul Johannes
Timothy Ailuros
Tolstoy, Leo
Torquemada, Tomás de
Troeltsch, Ernst
Trubetskoi, Evgenii
Trubetskoi, Sergei
Turner, Henry McNeal
Tyndale, William
Tyrrell, George
Uchimura Kanzō
Vico, Giovanni Battista
Vladimir I
Ward, Mary
Weil, Simone
Wesley Brothers
White, Ellen Gould
Whitefield, George
Whitehead, Alfred North
William of Ockham
Williams, Roger
Willibrord
Wise, John
Wittgenstein, Ludwig
Wolff, Christian
Wyclif, John
Xavier, Francis
Young, Brigham
Zinzendorf, Nikolaus
Zwingli, Huldrych

Confucianism
See in this outline under
Chinese Religion.

Daoism
See in this outline under
Chinese Religion.

East Asian Religions
See in this outline under
Chinese Religion, Japanese Religions, and Korean Religion.
See also Tibetan Religions.

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Amun
Anubis
Atum
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Goddess Worship in the Ancient Near East
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Healing and Medicine
Healing and Medicine in the Ancient Near East
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Seth
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Thoth

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  Popular and Folk Dance [First Edition]
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  Theatrical and Liturgical Dance [First Edition]
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Einstein, Albert
Enlightenment, The
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Etruscan Religion
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Galileo Galilei
Germanic Religion
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  Gnosticism from Its Origins to the Middle Ages [First Edition]
  Gnosticism from Its Origins to the Middle Ages [Further Considerations]
  Gnosticism from the Middle Ages to the Present
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Hobbes, Thomas
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  Islam in Modern Europe
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  Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe to 1500
  Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe since 1500
Kepler, Johannes
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  Law and Religion in Medieval Europe
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  Religious Dimensions of Modern Western Literature [First Edition]
  Religious Dimensions of Modern Western Literature [Further Considerations]
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  Magic in Eastern Europe
Marx, Karl
Masks
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  Religious and Philosophical Speculations
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  New Religious Movements in Europe
Newton, Isaac
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  Roman Catholic Pilgrimage in Europe
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  Old Europe
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Sartre, Jean-Paul
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  Sexual Rites in Europe
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  The Academic Study of Religion in Eastern Europe and Russia
  The Academic Study of Religion in Western Europe*
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Witchcraft
  Concepts of Witchcraft

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See in this outline under Uralic Religions.

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Álfar
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Paganism, Anglo-Saxon
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Saxo Grammaticus
Snorri Sturluson
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See in this outline under
Thracian Religion.

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Essenes
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Healing and Medicine in Greece and Rome
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Iupiter Dolichenus
Jesus

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Mishnah and Tosefta
Mithra
Mithraism
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Neoplatonism
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Orgy in the Ancient Mediterranean World
Paul the Apostle
Philo Judaeus
Plutarch
Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity
Roman Religion
The Imperial Period
Sadducees
Skeptics and Skepticism
Sophia
Soul
Greek and Hellenistic Concepts
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Tannaim
Theurgy
Wisdom Literature
Theoretical Perspectives

Hinduism

PRINCIPAL ARTICLE[3]
Hinduism

SECTARIAN SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES
Durgā Hinduism
Gāṇapatyas
Kṛṣṇaism
Śaivism
An Overview
Śaiva Siddhānta
Vīraśaivas
Nāyāṉārs
Krama Śaivism
Trika Śaivism
Śaivism in Kashmir
Pratyabhijñā
Pāśupatas
Kāpālikas
Saura Hinduism
Sri Vaisnavas
Tantrism
An Overview
Hindu Tantrism
Vaikhanasas
Vaiṣṇavism
An Overview [First Edition]
An Overview [Further Considerations]
Bhāgavatas
Pāñcarātras
Vedism and Brahmanism

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Ahiṃsā
Alchemy
Indian Alchemy
Āḻvārs
Ārya Samāj
Ashram
Avatāra
Avidyā
Āyurveda
Banaras
Bengali Religions
Bhagavadgītā
Bhakti
Brahman
Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas
Brāhmo Sāmaj
Cakras
Chanting
Cosmology
Hindu Cosmology
Dharma
Hindu Dharma
Dīvālī
Domestic Observances
Hindu Practices
Drama
Indian Dance and Dance Drama
Balinese Dance and Dance Drama
Javanese Wayang
Ecology and Religion
Ecology and Hinduism
Fiction
South Asian Fiction and Religion*
Ganges River
Gender and Religion
Gender and Hinduism
Goddess Worship
The Hindu Goddess
Guṇas
Haṭhayoga
Healing and Medicine
Healing and Medicine in Ayurveda and South Asia
Hindi Religious Traditions
Hinduism in Southeast Asia
Hindu Religious Year
Hindu Tantric Literature
Holī
Iconography
Hindu Iconography
Indian Philosophies
Indus Valley Religion
International Society for Krishna Consciousness
Īśvara
Jīvanmukti
Jñāna
Karman
Hindu and Jain Concepts
Khmer Religion
Kumbha Melā
Kuṇḍalinī
Kurukṣetra
Law and Religion
Law and Religion in Hinduism
Līlā
Lotus
Magic
Magic in South Asia
Mahābhārata
Maṇḍalas
Hindu Maṇḍalas
Mantra
Marathi Religions

[3] *For additional relevant entries, see also in this outline under* **Indian Religions.**

Māyā
Mīmāṃsā
Mokṣa
Mudrā
Mūrti
Music
  Music and Religion in India
Navarātri
Nyāya
Oṃ
Orgy
  Orgy in Asia
Pilgrimage
  Hindu Pilgrimage
Poetry
  Indian Religious Poetry
Prakṛti
Pralaya
Prāṇa
Priesthood
  Hindu Priesthood
Pūjā
  Hindu Pūjā
Purāṇas
Puruṣa
Rāmāyaṇa
Rites of Passage
  Hindu Rites
Ṛta
Sādhus and Sādhvīs
Samādhi
Sāṃkhya
Saṃnyāsa
Saṃsāra
Śāstra Literature
Sati
Soma
Soul
  Indian Concepts
Study of Religion
  The Academic Study of Religion in South Asia
Sūtra Literature
Swaminarayan Movement
Tapas
Tamil Religions
Temple
  Hindu Temples
Transcendental Meditation
Transculturation and Religion
  Religion in the Formation of Modern India
Untouchables, Religions of
Upaniṣads
Vaiśeṣika
Varṇa and Jāti
Vedāṅgas
Vedānta
Vedas
Vṛndāvana
Worship and Devotional Life
  Hindu Devotional Life
Yantra
Yoga

THEOGRAPHIES

Agni
Arjuna
Balarāma
Brahmā
Gaṇeśa
Hanumān
Indra
Kṛṣṇa
Manu
Murukaṉ
Prajāpati
Rādhā
Rāma
Rudra
Sarasvatī
Śiva [First Edition]
Śiva [Further Considerations]
Varuṇa
Viṣṇu
Vṛtra
Yama

BIOGRAPHIES

Abhinavagupta
Ānandamayī Mā
Aurobindo Ghose
Bādarāyaṇa
Caitanya
Gauḍapāda
Gorākhnāth
Jayadeva
Kabīr
Madhva
Māṇikkavācakar
Meykaṇṭār
Mirabai
Nimbārka
Patañjali
Patañjali the Grammarian
Piḷḷai Lokācārya
Prabhupada, A. C. Bhaktivedanta
Ramabai, Pandita
Ramakrishna
Ramakrishna [Further Considerations]*
Rāmānuja
Śaṅkara
Śārāda, Devī
Sūrdās
Tulsīdās
Umāpati Śivācārya
Vallabha
Vālmīki
Vijñānabhikṣu
Vivekananda
Vivekananda [Further Considerations]*
Yāmuna
Yogananda

Indian Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES

Indian Religions
  An Overview
  Rural Traditions
  Mythic Themes
  History of Study

RELIGIONS AND SECTS

Ājīvikas
Buddhism
  Buddhism in India
Cārvāka
Hinduism
Jainism
Sikhism

SUPPORTING ARTICLES

Ahiṃsā
Alchemy
  Indian Alchemy
Āḻvārs
Ārya Samāj
Ashram
Avatāra
Avidyā
Banaras
Bengali Religions
Bhakti
Brahman
Brāhmo Sāmaj
Cakras
Cakrasamvara
Chanting
Cosmology
  Hindu Cosmology
  Jain Cosmology

Drama
Indian Dance and Dance Drama
Fiction
South Asian Fiction and Religion*
Ganges River
Guṇas
Haṭhayoga
Healing and Medicine
Healing and Medicine in Ayurveda and South Asia
Hindi Religious Traditions
Indian Philosophies
Indus Valley Religion
International Society for Krishna Consciousness
Islam
Islam in South Asia
Jīvanmukti
Jñāna
Kuṇḍalinī
Kurukṣetra
Lotus
Magic
Magic in South Asia
Mantra
Marathi Religions
Māyā
Mokṣa
Mudrā
Mūrti
Music
Music and Religion in India
Oṃ
Orgy
Orgy in Asia
Pañcatantra
Poetry
Indian Religious Poetry
Prakṛti
Pralaya
Prāṇa
Puruṣa
Ṛta
Sādhus and Sādhvīs
Sai Baba Movement
Samādhi
Saṃgha
Saṃgha and Society in South and Southeast Asia
Saṃnyāsa
Saṃsāra
Śāstra Literature
Sinhala Religion
Soma
Soul
Indian Concepts
Study of Religion
The Academic Study of Religion in South Asia
Sūtra Literature
Swaminarayan Movement
Tapas
Tamil Religions
Tantrism
An Overview
Temple
Buddhist Temple Compounds in South Asia
Transcendental Meditation
Transculturation and Religion
Religion in the Formation of Modern India
Untouchables, Religions of
Varṇa and Jāti
Vedāṇgas
Vedānta
Vṛndāvana
Yantra
Yoga

BIOGRAPHIES[4]
Abhinavagupta
Akbar
Ānandamayī Mā
Aurobindo Ghose
Bādarāyaṇa
Bhave, Vinoba
Caitanya
Dayananda Sarasvati
Gandhi, Mohandas
Gauḍapāda
Gorākhnāth
Gośāla
Jayadeva
Kabīr
Madhva
Mirabai
Panini
Patañjali
Patañjali the Grammarian
Prabhupada, A. C. Bhaktivedanta
Radhakrishnan, Sarvepalli
Rajneesh
Ramabai, Pandita
Ramakrishna
Ramakrishna [Further Considerations]*
Roy, Ram Mohan
Śaṇkara
Śārāda, Devī
Sen, Keshab Chandra
Sūrdās
Tagore, Rabindranath
Tilak, Bal Gangadhar
Tulsīdās
Vālmīki
Vivekananda
Vivekananda [Further Considerations]*

RELATED ARTICLE
Indo-European Religions
An Overview

Indo-European Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES
Indo-European Religions
An Overview
History of Study

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Armenian Religion
Baltic Religion
An Overview
Celtic Religion
An Overview
Etruscan Religion
Germanic Religion
An Overview
Greek Religion [First Edition]
Greek Religion [Further Considerations]
Hittite Religion
Indian Religions
An Overview
Iranian Religions
Manichaeism
Manichaeism in Iran
Manichaeism in the Roman Empire
Roman Religion
The Early Period
The Imperial Period
Scythian Religion

[4] *For additional relevant biographies, see also in part II of this outline under* **The Study of Religion**, *sub-section on* **Scholars of Religion.**

Slavic Religion
Thracian Religion

RELATED ARTICLES
War and Warriors
Indo-European Beliefs and Practices
Winter Solstice Songs

Indonesian Religions
See in this outline under
Southeast Asian Religions.

Inner Asian Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLE[5]
Inner Asian Religions

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Buddhism
Buddhism in Central Asia
Buddhism in Mongolia
Buddhism in Tibet
Buriat Religion
Dolgan Religion
Finno-Ugric Religions
An Overview
Hun Religion
Iranian Religions
Islam
Islam in the Caucasus and the Middle Volga
Islam in Central Asia
Khanty and Mansi Religion
Manichaeism
An Overview
Manichaeism in Central Asia and China
Mongol Religions
Orgy
Orgy in Asia
Prehistoric Religions
The Eurasian Steppes and Inner Asia
Samoyed Religion
Sarmatian Religion
Scythian Religion
Shamanism
Siberian and Inner Asian Shamanism
Slavic Religion
Soul
Concepts in Indigenous Religions
Southern Siberian Religions
Tibetan Religions
An Overview
Turkic Religions
Tunguz Religion

Iranian Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLE
Iranian Religions

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Mani
Manichaeism
An Overview
Manichaeism in Iran
Mazdakism
Mithra
Mithraism
Mystery Religions
Zoroastrianism
Zurvanism

RELATED ARTICLE
Indo-European Religions
An Overview

Islam

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES
Islam
An Overview [First Edition]
An Overview [Further Considerations]
Islam in North Africa
Islam in Andalusia
Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa
Islam in the Caucasus and the Middle Volga
Islam in Central Asia
Islam in China
Islam in South Asia
Islam in Southeast Asia
Islam in Modern Europe
Islam in the Americas
Islamic Studies [First Edition]
Islamic Studies [Further Considerations]
Shiism
An Overview

SCHOOLS, GROUPS, AND COMMUNITIES
Aḥmadiyah
ʿAlawīyūn
Ashʿarīyah
Druzeḥanābilah
Ibāḍiyyah
Ishrāqīyah
Khārijīs
Muʿtazilah
Qarāmiṭah
Shaykhīyah
Shiism
Ismāʿīlīyah
Ithnā ʿAshariyah
Wahhābīyah

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
African American Religions
Muslim Movements
Afterlife
Islamic Concepts
Aga Khan
Ahl Al-Bayt
Al-Azhar
Alchemy
Islamic Alchemy
Arabian Religions
Aristotelianism
ʿĀshūrāʾ
Assassins
Attributes of God
Islamic Concepts
Bābīs
Bahāʾīs
Blasphemy
Islamic Concept
Caliphate
Calligraphy
Islamic Calligraphy
Creeds
Islamic Creeds
Crusades
Muslim Perspective
Darwīsh
Daʿwah
Dhikr
Drama
Middle Eastern Narrative Traditions
Domestic Observances
Muslim Practices
Ecology and Religion
Ecology and Islam
Eschatology
Islamic Eschatology

[5] *For additional relevant entries, see also in this outline under* **Uralic Religions** *and* **Altaic Religions.**

Falsafah
Folk Religion
  Folk Islam
Free Will and Predestination
  Islamic Concepts
Gardens
  Islamic Gardens
Gender and Religion
  Gender and Islam
Ghaybah
Ginān
God
  God in Islam
Hadīth
Ḥaram and Ḥawṭah
Hawzah
Healing and Medicine
  Healing and Medicine in Islamic Texts and Traditions
  Popular Healing Practices in Middle Eastern Cultures
Humor and Religion
  Humor and Islam
Iconography
  Islamic Iconography
Iʾjāz
Ijmāʿ
Ijtihād
Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ
Imamate
Īmān and Islām
Islamic Law
  Sharīʿah
  Personal Law
Islamic Religious Year
ʿIṣmah
Jamāʿat-i Islāmī
Jerusalem
  Jerusalem in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam
Jihād
Kaʿbah
Kalām
Karbala
Khānagāh
Madhhab
Madrasah
Magic
  Magic in Islam
Maṣlaḥah
Mawlid
Messianism
  Messianism in the Muslim Tradition
Miʿrāj
Modernism
  Islamic Modernism
Mosque
  History and Tradition
  Architectural Aspects
Music
  Music and Religion in the Middle East
Muslim Brotherhood
Mystical Union in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam
Nation of Islam
Nubūwah
Nūr Muḥammad
Occasionalism
Pilgrimage
  Muslim Pilgrimage
Poetry
  Islamic Poetry
Polemics
  Muslim-Jewish Polemics
  Christian-Muslim Polemics
Politics and Religion
  Politics and Islam
Qāḍī
Qarāmiṭah
Qiyās
Qurʾān
  Tradition of Scholarship and Interpretation
  Its Role in Muslim Practice and Life
Rāwẓah-khvānī
Rites of Passage
  Muslim Rites
Ṣalāt
Samāʿ
Ṣawm
Shahādah
Shaykh al-Islām
Soul
  Islamic Concepts
Study of Religion
  The Academic Study of Religion in North Africa and the Middle East
Sufism
Ṣuḥbah
Sunnah
Tafsīr
Taqīyah
Ṭarīqah
Taʿziyah
Tilāwah
ʿUlamāʾ
Ummah
Uṣūl al-Fiqh
Walāyah
Waqf
Worship and Devotional Life
  Muslim Worship
Zakāt

BIOGRAPHIES[6]

ʿAbd al-Jabbār
ʿAbd al-Rāziq, ʿAlī
ʿAbduh, Muḥammad
Abū al-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf
Abū Bakr
Abū Ḥanīfah
Abū Yūsuf
Afghānī, Jamāl al-Dīn al-
Ahmad Khan, Sayyid
ʿĀʾishah bint Abī Bakr
ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib
ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī
Ameer Ali, Syed
Ashʿarī, al-
ʿAṭṭār, Farīd al-Dīn
Bayḍāwī, al-
Bīrūnī, al-
Bisṭāmī, Abū Yazīd al-
Bukhārī, al-
Dārā Shikōh
Elijah Muhammad
Fārābī, al-
Fāṭimah bint Muḥammad
Ghazāli, Abū Ḥāmid al-
Gökalp, Zīyam
Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī
Ḥallāj, al-
Ḥasan al-Baṣrī
Ḥillī, al-
Hujwīrī, al-
Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, al-
Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Muḥammad
Ibn al-ʿArabī
Ibn al-Fāriḍ
Ibn ʿAṭāʾAllāh

[6] *For additional relevant biographies, see also in part II of this outline under* **The Study of Religion**, *sub-section on* **Scholars of Religion.**

Ibn Bābawayhi
Ibn Bājjah
Ibn Ḥazm
Ibn Khaldūn
Ibn Rushd
Ibn Sīnā
Ibn Taymīyah
Ījī, ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-
Iqbal, Muhammad
Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq
Junayd, al-
Kalābādhī, al-
Khusraw, Amīr
Kubrā, Najm al-Dīn
Lāhorī, Muḥammad ʿAlī
Majlisī, al-
Malcolm X
Mālik ibn Anas
Māturīdī, al-
Māwardī, al-
Mawdūdī, Sayyid Abū al-Aʿlā
Muḥammad
Mullā Ṣadrā
Nāṣir-i Khusraw
Naẓẓām, al-
Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ
Niẓām al-Mulk
Qāḍī al Nuʿmān
Qurrat al-ʿAyn Ṭāhirah
Qutb, Sayyid
Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawīyah
Rashīd Riḍā, Muḥammad
Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-
Rūmī, Jalāl al-Dīn
Saʿdī
Shabistarī, al-
Shāfiʿī, al-
Shahrastānī, al-
Sirhindī, Aḥmad
Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā
Ṭabarī, al-
Ṭabāṭabāʾī, ʿAllāma
Taftāzānī, al-
Ṭūsī, Naṣīr al-Dīn
ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb
Walī Allāh, Shāh
Yunus Emre
Zamakhsharī, al-
Zaynab bint ʿAlī

Israelite Religion

PRINCIPAL ARTICLE
Israelite Religion

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Biblical Literature
Hebrew Scriptures
Biblical Temple
Ecclesiastes
God
God in the Hebrew Scriptures
Ḥokhmah
Israelite Law
An Overview
Personal Status and Family Law
Property Law
Criminal Law
State and Judiciary Law
Levites
Prophecy
Biblical Prophecy
Prophecy in Post-Biblical Judaism
Psalms
Ten Commandments
Wisdom Literature
Biblical Books [First Edition]
Biblical Books [Further Considerations]

BIBLICAL FIGURES
Aaron
Abraham
Adam
Amos
Cain and Abel
Cyrus II
Daniel
David [First Edition]
David [Further Considerations]
Elijah
Elisha
Enoch
Esther
Eve
Ezekiel
Ezra
Hosea
Isaac
Isaiah
Ishmael
Jacob
Jeremiah
Job
Jonah
Joseph
Joshua
Josiah
Micah
Miriam
Moses
Nathan
Nehemiah
Noah
Rachel and Leah
Rebecca
Ruth and Naomi
Samson
Samuel
Sarah
Saul
Solomon

Jainism

PRINCIPAL ARTICLE
Jainism

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Ahiṃsā
Cosmology
Jain Cosmology
Ecology and Religion
Ecology and Jainism
Gender and Religion
Gender and Jainism
Jīvanmukti
Jñāna
Karman
Hindu and Jain Concepts
Mahāvīra
Tīrthaṃkaras

Japanese Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES
Japanese Religions
An Overview
Popular Religion
The Study of Myths
Religious Documents

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Ainu Religion
Amaterasu Ōmikami
Ame no Koyane
Aum Shinrikyō
Buddhism
Buddhism in Japan
Buddhism, Schools of
Japanese Buddhism
East Asian Buddhism
Buddhist Meditation
East Asian Buddhist Meditation

Bushidō
Calligraphy
  Chinese and Japanese Calligraphy
Confucianism in Japan
Domestic Observances
  Japanese Practices
Drama
  East Asian Dance and Theater
Ecology and Religion
  Ecology and Confucianism
  Ecology and Shintō
Fiction
  Japanese Fiction and Religion
Fudō
Gender and Religion
  Gender and Japanese Religions
Gozan Zen
Healing and Medicine
  Healing and Medicine in Japan
Hijiri
Honjisuijaku
Humor and Religion
  Humor and Religion in East Asian Contexts
Izanagi and Izanami
Jōdo Shinshū
Jōdoshū
Kami
Kingship
  Kingship in East Asia
Kokugaku
Konkōkyō
Kurozumikyō
Magic
  Magic in East Asia
Music
  Music and Religion in Japan
New Religious Movements
  New Religious Movements in Japan
Nichirenshū
Norito
Okinawan Religion
Ōkuninushi no Mikoto
Ōmotokyō
Onmyōdō
Orgy
  Orgy in Asia
Poetry
  Japanese Religious Poetry
Politics and Religion
  Politics and Japanese Religions
Priesthood
  Shintō Priesthood
Shingonshū
Shintō
Shugendō
Study of Religion
  The Academic Study of Religion in Japan
Susano-o no Mikoto
Temple
  Buddhist Temple Compounds in East Asia
Tendaishū
Tenrikyō
Transculturation and Religion
  Religion in the Formation of Modern Japan
Worship and Devotional Life
  Buddhist Devotional Life in East Asia
Zen

BIOGRAPHIES [7]

Anesaki Masaharu
Benchō
Dōgen
Eisai
Enchin
Ennin
En no Gyōja
Fujiwara Seika
Ganjin
Genshin
Gyōgi
Hakuin
Hayashi Razan
Hirata Atsutane
Hōnen
Ikkyū Sōjun
Ippen
Ishida Baigan
Itō Jinsai
Jien
Jimmu
Jingō
Kaibara Ekken
Kamo no Mabuchi
Keizan
Kōben
Kumazawa Banzan
Kūya
Motoori Norinaga
Musō Sōseki
Nakae Tōju
Nakayama Miki
Nanjō Bunyū
Nichiren
Nikkō
Nishida Kitarō
Ogyū Sorai
Rennyo
Saichō
Shinran
Shoku
Shotoku Taishi
Suzuki, D. T.
Yamaga Sokō
Yamato Takeru
Yamazaki Ansai

Judaism

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES [8]

Judaism
  An Overview
  Judaism in the Middle East and North Africa to 1492
  Judaism in the Middle East and North Africa since 1492
  Judaism in Northeast Africa
  Judaism in Asia
  Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe to 1500
  Judaism in Northern and Eastern Europe since 1500
Jewish People
Jewish Studies
  Jewish Studies from 1818 to 1919
  Jewish Studies since 1919

MODERN FORMS

Conservative Judaism
Orthodox Judaism [First Edition]
Orthodox Judaism [Further Considerations]
Reconstructionist Judaism
Reform Judaism
Jewish Renewal Movement

SUPPORTING ARTICLES

Afterlife
  Jewish Concepts

[7] *For additional relevant biographies, see also in part II of this outline under* **The Study of Religion**, *sub-section on* **Scholars of Religion.**
[8] *For additional relevant entries, see also in this outline under* **Israelite Religion.**

Agudat Yisraʾel
Amoraim
Anti-Semitism
Apocalypse
  Jewish Apocalypticism to the Rabbinic Period
  Medieval Jewish Apocalyptic Literature
Ashkenazic Hasidism
Atonement
  Jewish Concepts
Attributes of God
  Jewish Concepts
Beit Hillel and Beit Shammai
Biblical Exegesis
  Jewish Views
Biblical Literature
  Hebrew Scriptures
  Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
Blasphemy
  Jewish Concept
Calligraphy
  Hebrew Micrography
Chanting
Dead Sea Scrolls
Domestic Observances
  Jewish Practices
Dönmeh
Dybbuk
Ecology and Religion
  Ecology and Judaism
Essenes
Folk Religion
  Folk Judaism
Gender and Religion
  Gender and Judaism
God
  God in the Hebrew Scriptures
  God in Postbiblical Judaism
Halakhah
  History of Halakhah
  Structure of Halakhah
Hanukkah
Hasidism
  An Overview
  Habad Hasidism
  Satmar Hasidism
Healing and Medicine
  Healing and Medicine in Judaism
History
  Jewish Views
Holocaust, The
  History
  Jewish Theological Responses
Iconography
  Jewish Iconography [First Edition]
  Jewish Iconography [Further Considerations]
Jerusalem
  Jerusalem in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam
Jewish Religious Year
Jewish Thought and Philosophy
  Premodern Philosophy
  Modern Thought
  Jewish Ethical Literature
Karaites
Kashrut
Kingdom of God
Lilith
Magen David
Marranos
Merkavah Mysticism*
Messianism
  Jewish Messianism
Midrash and Aggadah [First Edition]
Midrash and Aggadah [Further Considerations]
Miqveh
Mishnah and Tosefta
Musar Movement
Music
  Music and Religion in the Middle East
  Religious Music in the West
Mystical Union in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam
Oral Torah
Orgy
  Orgy in Medieval and Modern Europe
Passover
Patriarchate
Persecution
  Jewish Experience
Pesher
Pilgrimage
  Contemporary Jewish Pilgrimage
Polemics
  Jewish-Christian Polemics
  Muslim-Jewish Polemics
Politics and Religion
  Politics and Judaism*
Priesthood
  Jewish Priesthood
Prophecy
  Biblical Prophecy
  Prophecy in Post-Biblical Judaism
Purification
  Purification in Judaism
Purim
Purim Plays
Qabbalah
Rabbinate
  The Rabbinate in Pre-Modern Judaism
  The Rabbinate in Modern Judaism
Rabbinic Judaism in Late Antiquity
Rites of Passage
  Jewish Rites
Roʾsh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur
Sadducees
Samaritans
Sanhedrin
Sefer Yetsirah
Shabbat
Shavuʿot
Shekhinah
Siddur and Maḥzor
Soul
  Jewish Concept
Sukkot
Synagogue
Talmud
Tannaim
Tekhines
Torah
Tosafot [First Edition]
Tosafot [Further Considerations]
Tsaddiq
Wisdom Literature
  Biblical Books [First Edition]
  Biblical Books [Further Considerations]
Worship and Devotional Life
  Jewish Worship
Yeshivah
Zealots
Zekhut Avot
Zionism
Zohar

BIOGRAPHIES[9]
Abbahu
Abbaye
Abravanel, Isaac
Abulafia, Meʾir
Adler, Felix
Adret, Shelomoh ben Avraham
Agnon, Shemuʾel Yosef
Albo, Yosef
Alfasi, Yitsḥaq ben Yaʿaqov
Alkalai, Yehudah ben Shelomoh
ʿAnan ben David
ʿAqivaʾ ben Yosef
Asher ben Yeḥiʾel
Ashi
Avraham ben David of Posquières
Baʿal Shem Tov
Baeck, Leo
Baḥye ibn Paquda
Bar-Ilan, Meʾʾir
Beruryah
Buber, Martin
Cohen, Arthur A.
Cohen, Hermann
Cordovero, Mosheh
Crescas, Ḥasdai
Dov Ber of Mezhirich
Elʿazar ben ʿAzaryah
Elʿazar ben Pedat
Eliʿezer ben Hyrcanus
Elimelekh of Lizhensk
Elishaʾ ben Avuyah
Eliyyahu ben Shelomoh Zalman
Fackenheim, Emil
Feinstein, Moshe
Frank, Jacob
Frankel, Zacharias
Gamliʾel of Yavneh
Gamli'el the Elder
Geiger, Abraham
Gershom ben Yehudah
Gersonides
Ginzberg, Asher
H'ai Gaon
Heschel, Abraham Joshua
Hildesheimer, Esriel
Hillel
Hirsch, Samson Raphael
Hoffmann, David
Holdheim, Samuel
Hunaʾ
Ibn Daud, Avraham
Ibn ʿEzraʾ, Avraham
Ibn Gabirol, Shelomoh
Isserles, Mosheh
Josephus Flavius
Kagan, Yisraʾel Meʾir
Kalischer, Tsevi Hirsch
Kaplan, Mordecai
Karo, Yosef
Kaufmann, Yeḥezkel
Kimḥi, David
Kohler, Kaufmann
Kook, Avraham Yitsḥaq
Kotler, Aharon
Krochmal, Naḥman
Leeser, Isaac
Levi Yitsḥaq of Berdichev
Luria, Isaac
Luria, Shelomoh
Maid of Ludmir
Maimonides, Abraham
Maimonides, Moses
Malbim
Meʾir
Meʾir ben Barukh of Rothenburg
Mendelssohn, Moses
Mohilever, Shemuʾel
Montagu, Lily
Nahmanides, Moses
Naḥman of Bratslav
Philo Judaeus
Rabbah bar Nahmani
Rashi
Rav
Ravaʾ
Reines, Yitsḥaq Yaʿaqov
Revel, Bernard
Rosenzweig, Franz
Saʿadyah Gaon
Salanter, Yisraʾel
Schechter, Solomon
Schenirer, Sarah
Schneerson, Menachem M.
Scholem, Gershom
Shabbetai Tsevi [First Edition]
Shabbetai Tsevi [Further Considerations]
Shemuʾel the Amora
Sherira' Gaon
Shimʿon bar Yoḥʾai
Shimʿon ben Gamliʾel II
Shimʿon ben Laqish
Shneʾur Zalman of Lyady
Sofer, Mosheh
Soloveitchik, Joseph Baer
Spektor, Yitsḥaq Elḥanan
Spinoza, Barukh
Szold, Henrietta
Tam, Ya'aqov ben Me'ir
Ṭarfon
Vital, Ḥayyim
Wise, Isaac M.
Wise, Stephen S.
Wittgenstein, Ludwig
Ya'aqov ben Asher
Yehoshu'a ben Ḥananyah
Yehoshu'a ben Levi
Yehudah bar Ilʿai
Yehudah bar Yeḥezqe'l
Yehudah ha-Levi
Yehudah ha-Nasiʾ
Yishmaʿe'l ben Elishaʿ
Yoḥanan bar Nappaḥa'
Yoḥanan ben Zakk'ai
Yose ben Ḥalafta'

Korean Religion
PRINCIPAL ARTICLE
Korean Religion
SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Buddhism
  Buddhism in Korea
Buddhism, Schools of
  East Asian Buddhism
Ch'ŏndogyo
Confucianism in Korea
Drama
  East Asian Dance and Theater
Humor and Religion
  Humor and Religion in East Asian Contexts
Kingship
  Kingship in East Asia
Magic
  Magic in East Asia
Music
  Music and Religion in China, Korea, and Tibet
Temple
  Buddhist Temple Compounds in East Asia
Unification Church

[9] *For biblical figures, see in this outline under* **Israelite Religion.** *For additional relevant biographies, see also in part II of this outline under* **The Study of Religion,** *sub-section on* **Scholars of Religion.**

BIOGRAPHIES
Chinul
Chŏng Yagyong
Sŏ Kyŏngdŏk
Ŭich'ŏn
Ŭisang
Wŏnhyo
Yi T'oegye
Yi Yulgok

Mandaean Religion

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES
Mandaean Religion
Ginza
Manda d'Hiia

Melanesian Religions
See in this outline under Oceanic Religions.

Mesoamerican Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES
Mesoamerican Religions
Pre-Columbian Religions
Formative Cultures
Classic Cultures
Postclassic Cultures
Colonial Cultures
Contemporary Cultures
Mythic Themes
History of Study

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Aztec Religion
Ballgames
Mesoamerican Ballgames
Calendars
Mesoamerican Calendars
Coatlicue
Cosmology
Indigenous North and Mesoamerican Cosmologies
Day of the Dead
Drama
Mesoamerican Dance and Drama
Fiction
Latin American Fiction and Religion
Funeral Rites
Mesoamerican Funeral Rites
Gender and Religion
Gender and Mesoamerican Religions
Huichol Religion
Huitzilopochtli
Human Sacrifice
Aztec Rites
Iconography
Mesoamerican Iconography
Inquisition, The
The Inquistion in the New World
Kingship
Kingship in Mesoamerica and South America
Law and Religion
Law and Religion in Indigenous Cultures
Maximón
Maya Religion
Music
Music and Religion in Mesoamerica
Nahuatl Religion
New Religious Movements
New Religious Movements in Latin America
Olmec Religion
Otomí Religion
Quetzalcoatl
Rites of Passage
Mesoamerican Rites
Tarascan Religion
Temple
Mesoamerican Temples
Tezcatlipoca
Tlaloc
Tlaxcalan Religion
Toltec Religion
Totonac Religion
Tricksters
Mesoamerican and South American Tricksters
Zapatismo and Indigenous Resistance

Mesopotamian Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES
Mesopotamian Religions
An Overview [First Edition]
An Overview [Further Considerations]
History of Study

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Adad
Akitu
An
Ashur
Atrahasis
Drama
Ancient Near Eastern Ritual Drama [First Edition]
Ancient Near Eastern Ritual Drama [Further Considerations]
Dumuzi
Enki
Enlil
Enuma Elish
Gender and Religion
Gender and Ancient Near Eastern Religions
Gilgamesh
Goddess Worship
Goddess Worship in the Ancient Near East
Healing and Medicine
Healing and Medicine in the Ancient Near East
Iconography
Mesopotamian Iconography
Inanna
Kingship
Kingship in the Ancient Mediterranean World
Marduk
Nabu
Nanna
Nergal
Ninhursaga
Ninurta
Soul
Ancient Near Eastern Concepts
Temple
Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Temples
Utu

Micronesian Religions
See in this outline under Oceanic Religions.

Mongol Religions
See in this outline under Altaic Religions.

Native American Religions
See in this outline under North American Indian Religions, Mesoamerican Religions, and South American Indian Religions.
See also Caribbean Religions.

New Religious Movements

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES

- New Religious Movements
  - An Overview
  - History of Study
  - Scriptures of New Religious Movements
  - New Religious Movements and Women
  - New Religious Movements and Children
  - New Religious Movements and Millennialism
  - New Religious Movements and Violence
  - New Religious Movements in the United States
  - New Religious Movements in Europe
  - New Religious Movements in Japan
  - New Religious Movements in Latin America

SUPPORTING ARTICLES

- African Religions
  - New Religious Movements
- African American Religions
  - Muslim Movements
- Anthroposophy
- Anticult Movements
- Association for Research and Enlightenment
- Ārya Samāj
- Aum Shinrikyō
- Australian Indigenous Religions
  - New Religious Movements
- Bahāʾīs
- Baltic Religion
  - New Religious Movements
- Brāhmo Samāj
- Brainwashing (Debate)
- Branch Davidians
- Buddhism
  - Buddhism in the West
- Cao Dai
- Cargo Cults [First Edition]
- Cargo Cults [Further Considerations]
- Charisma
- Ch'ŏndogyo
- Christian Identity Movement
- Christian Science
- Church Universal and Triumphant
- Ciji
- Civil Religion
- Cults and Sects
- Deprogramming
- Dhammakāya Movement
- Earth First!
- Eckankar
- Esotericism
- Ethical Culture
- Falun Gong
- Family, The
- Foguangshan
- Freemasons
- Ghost Dance
- Grail Movement
- Healing and Medicine
  - Alternative Medicine in the New Age
- Healthy, Happy, Holy Organization (3HO)
- Heaven's Gate
- Hermetism
- Holy Order of MANS
- I Am
- International Society for Krishna Consciousness
- Jamāʿat-i Islāmī
- Jehovah's Witnesses
- Jesus Movement
- Jonestown and Peoples Temple
- Law and Religion
  - Law and New Religious Movements
- Maximón
- Mesoamerican Religions
  - Contemporary Cultures
- Mormonism
- Movement for the Restoration of the Ten Commandments of God
- Muslim Brotherhood
- Nation of Islam
- Native American Church*
- Neopaganism
- New Age Movement
- New Thought Movement
- North American Indian Religions
  - New Religious Movements
- Nuwaubians
- Oceanic Religions
  - Missionary Movements
  - New Religious Movements
- Occultism
- Point Loma Theosophical Community
- Raëlians
- Rastafarianism
- Reiyūkai Kyōdan
- Risshō Kōseikai
- Rites of Passage
  - Neopagan Rites
- Sai Baba Movement
- Satanism
- Scientology
- Seventh-day Adventism
- Shakers
- Shamanism
  - Neoshamanism
- Sōka Gakkai
- Southeast Asian Religions
  - New Religious Movements in Insular Cultures
- Spiritualism
- Swaminarayan Movement
- Swedenborgianism
- Temple Solaire
- Theosophical Society
- Transcendental Meditation
- Twelve Tribes
- UFO Religions
- Unarius Academy of Science
- Unification Church
- Unity
- Wicca
- World's Parliament of Religions

BIOGRAPHIES[10]

- Ambedkar, B. R.
- Aurobindo Ghose
- Bennett, John G.
- Besant, Annie
- Bhave, Vinoba
- Blavatsky, H. P.
- Cayce, Edgar
- Crowley, Aleister
- Daddy Grace
- Dan Fodio, Usuman
- Dayananda Sarasvati
- Eddy, Mary Baker

[10]*For additional relevant biographies, see also in part II of this outline under* **The Study of Religion**, *sub-section on* **Scholars of Religion**.

Elijah Muḥammad
Father Divine
Fillmore, Charles and Myrtle
Gage, Matilda Joslyn
Gandhi, Mohandas
Gurdjieff, G. I.
Harris, William Wade
Hopkins, Emma Curtis
Hubbard, L. Ron
Jones, Jim
Judge, William Q.
Kimbangu, Simon
King, Martin Luther, Jr.
Koresh, David
Krishnamurti, Jiddu
Lee, Ann
Lenshina, Alice
Malalasekera, G. P.
Malcolm X
Maranke, John
Mawdūdī, Sayyid Abū al-Aʿlā
Meher Baba
Muḥammad Aḥmad
Nakayama Miki
Neolin
Olcott, Henry Steel
Ouspensky, P. D.
Prabhupada, A. C. Bhaktivedanta
Prophet, Mark and Elizabeth Clare
Radhakrishnan, Sarvepalli
Rajneesh
Ramakrishna
Ramakrishna [Further Considerations]*
Roy, Ram Mohan
Sen, Keshab Chandra
Shembe, Isaiah
Smith, Joseph
Steiner, Rudolf
Swedenborg, Emanuel
Tagore, Rabindranath
Tilak, Bal Gangadhar
Tingley, Katherine
ʿUmar Tāl
Vivekananda
Vivekananda [Further Considerations]*
White, Ellen Gould
Wovoka
Yogananda

Norse Religion
See in this outline under
Germanic Religion.

North American Indian Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES
North American Indian Religions
An Overview
Mythic Themes
New Religious Movements
History of Study
North American Indians
Indians of the Far North
Indians of the Northeast Woodlands
Indians of the Southeast Woodlands
Indians of the Plains
Indians of the Northwest Coast [First Edition]
Indians of the Northwest Coast [Further Considerations]
Indians of California and the Intermountain Region
Indians of the Southwest

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Anishinaabe Religious Traditions
Apache Religious Traditions
Athapaskan Religious Traditions
An Overview
Athapaskan Concepts of Wind and Power
Ballgames
North American Indian Ballgames
Black Elk
Blackfeet Religious Traditions
Cherokee Religious Traditions
Cosmology
Indigenous North and Mesoamerican Cosmologies
Deloria, Ella Cara
Drama
North American Indian Dance and Drama
Ecology and Religion
Ecology and Indigenous Traditions
Fiction
Native American Fiction and Religion
Gardens
Gardens in Indigenous Traditions
Gender and Religion
Gender and North American Indian Religious Traditions
Ghost Dance
Haida Religious Traditions
Handsome Lake
Iconography
Native North American Iconography
Inuit Religious Traditions
Iroquois Religious Traditions
Lakota Religious Traditions
Law and Religion
Law and Religion in Indigenous Cultures
Manitou
Masks
Native American Christianities
Native American Church*
Native American Science
Navajo Religious Traditions
Neolin
Nez Perce (Niimíipuu) Religious Traditions
Osage Religious Traditions
Poetry
Native American Poetry and Religion
Politics and Religion
Politics and Native American Religious Traditions
Potlatch
Rites of Passage
North American Indian Rites*
Shamanism
North American Shamanism
Soul
Concepts in Indigenous Religions
Sun Dance [First Edition]
Sun Dance [Further Considerations]
Tecumseh
Tomol
Tricksters
North American Tricksters [First Edition]
North American Tricksters [Further Considerations]
Vision Quest
White Buffalo Calf Woman
Wovoka

Oceanic Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES

- Oceanic Religions
  - An Overview
  - Missionary Movements
  - New Religious Movements
  - History of Study [First Edition]
  - History of Study [Further Considerations]
- Melanesian Religions
  - An Overview
  - Mythic Themes
- Micronesian Religions
  - An Overview
  - Mythic Themes
- Polynesian Religions
  - An Overview
  - Mythic Themes

SUPPORTING ARTICLES

- Afterlife
  - Oceanic Concepts
- Atua
- Cargo Cults [First Edition]
- Cargo Cults [Further Considerations]
- Christianity
  - Christianity in the Pacific Islands [First Edition]
  - Christianity in the Pacific Islands [Further Considerations]
- Cosmology
  - Oceanic Cosmologies
- Ecology and Religion
  - Ecology and Indigenous Traditions
- Fiction
  - Oceanic Fiction and Religion
- Gardens
  - Gardens in Indigenous Traditions
- Gender and Religion
  - Gender and Oceanic Religions
- Hawaiian Religion
- Law and Religion
  - Law and Religion in Indigenous Cultures
- Mana
- Maori Religion [First Edition]
- Maori Religion [Further Considerations]
- Masks
- Māui
- Music
  - Music and Religion in Oceania
- New Caledonia Religion
- New Guinea Religions [First Edition]
- New Guinea Religions [Further Considerations]
- Politics and Religion
  - Politics and Oceanic Religions
- Rites of Passage
  - Oceanic Rites
- Solomon Islands Religions
- Soul
  - Concepts in Indigenous Religions
- Southeast Asian Religions
  - Insular Cultures
- Study of Religion
  - The Academic Study of Religion in Australia and Oceania
- Taboo
- Tangaroa
- Tikopia Religion
- Transculturation and Religion
  - Religion and the Formation of Modern Oceania
- Vanuatu Religions

Polynesian Religions

See in this outline under Oceanic Religions.

Prehistoric Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES

- Prehistoric Religions
  - An Overview
  - Old Europe
  - The Eurasian Steppes and Inner Asia

SUPPORTING ARTICLES

- Megalithic Religion
  - Prehistoric Evidence
- Neolithic Religion
- Paleolithic Religion

Roman Religion

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES

- Roman Religion
  - The Early Period
  - The Imperial Period

SUPPORTING ARTICLES

- Afterlife
  - Greek and Roman Concepts
- Apotheosis
- Arval Brothers
- Augustus
- Cicero
- Dea Dia
- Diana
- Divination
  - Greek and Roman Divination
- Emperor's Cult
- Fasti
- Fides
- Flamen
- Fortuna
- Gender and Religion
  - Gender and Ancient Mediterranean Religions
- Goddess Worship
  - Goddess Worship in the Hellenistic World
- Healing and Religion
  - Healing and Medicine in Greece and Rome
- Hellenistic Religions
- Herakles
- Iconography
  - Greco-Roman Iconography
- Iupiter Dolichenus
- Janus
- Juno
- Jupiter
- Lares
- Law and Religion
  - Law and Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean World
- Ludi Saeculares
- Lupercalia
- Lustratio
- Magic
  - Magic in Greco-Roman Antiquity
- Manichaeism
  - Manichaeism in the Roman Empire
- Mars
- Minerva
- Music
  - Music and Religion in Greece, Rome, and Byzantium
- Mystery Religions
- Numen

Orgy
Orgy in the Ancient Mediterranean World
Orphic Gold Tablets
Parentalia
Penates
Politics and Religion
Politics and Ancient Mediterranean Religions
Pontifex
Priapus
Quirinus
Sibylline Oracles
Sol Invictus
Temple
Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Temples
Venus
Vergil
Vesta

RELATED ARTICLES
Indo-European Religions
An Overview
History of Study

Śaivism
See in this outline under Hinduism.

Scandinavian Religion
See in this outline under Germanic Religion.

Shintō
See in this outline under Japanese Religions.

Siberian Religions
See in this outline under Arctic Religions and Inner Asian Religions.

Sikhism

PRINCIPAL ARTICLE
Sikhism

SUPPORTNG ARTICLES
Ādi Granth
Dasam Granth
Gender and Religion
Gender and Sikhism
Gurū Granth Sāhib
Healthy, Happy, Holy Organization (3HO)
Hindi Religious Traditions
Nānak
Poetry
Indian Religious Poetry
Singh, Gobind

Slavic Religion

PRINCIPAL ARTICLE
Slavic Religion

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Baba Yaga
Dazhbog
Mokosh
Perun
Sventovit
Triglav
Veles-Volos

RELATED ARTICLES
Indo-European Religions
An Overview
History of Study

South American Indian Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES
South American Indian Religions
An Overview
Mythic Themes
History of Study
South American Indians
Indians of the Andes in the Pre-Inca Period
Indians of the Colonial Andes
Indians of the Modern Andes
Indians of the Northwest Amazon
Indians of the Central and Eastern Amazon
Indians of the Gran Chaco

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Afro-Brazilian Religions
Atahuallpa
Bochica
Calendars
South American Calendars
Cosmology
South American Cosmologies
Ethnoastronomy
Fiction
Latin American Fiction and Religion
Ge Mythology
Gender and Religion
Gender and South American Religions
Inca Religion
Inquisition, The
The Inquistion in the New World
Inti
Kingship
Kingship in Mesoamerica and South America
Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo
Mapuche Religion
Masks
Messianism
South American Messianism
Muisca Religion
Music
Music and Religion in South America
New Religious Movements
New Religious Movements in Latin America
Selk'nam Religion
Shamanism
South American Shamanism
Tehuelche Religion
Viracocha
Warao Religion
Yurupary

Southeast Asian Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES
Southeast Asian Religions
History of Study
Mainland Cultures
Insular Cultures
New Religious Movements in Insular Cultures

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Acehnese Religion
Balinese Religion
Batak Religion
Bornean Religions
Buddhadāsa
Buddhism
Buddhism in Southeast Asia
Bugis Religion
Burmese Religion
Cao Dai
Dhammakāya Movement

Drama
Balinese Dance and Dance Drama
Javanese Wayang
Fiction
Southeast Asian Fiction and Religion
Hinduism in Southeast Asia
Islam
Islam in Southeast Asia
Javanese Religion
Khmer Religion
Lao Religion
Music
Music and Religion in Southeast Asia
Nats
Negrito Religions
An Overview
Negritos of the Philippine Islands
Negritos of the Andaman Islands
Negritos of the Malay Peninsula
Orgy
Orgy in Asia
Saṃgha
Saṃgha and Society in South and Southeast Asia
Sundanese Religion
Temple
Buddhist Temple Compounds in Southeast Asia
Thai Religion
Toraja Religion
U Nu
Vietnamese Religion
Worship and Devotional Life
Buddhist Devotional Life in Southeast Asia

Thracian Religion

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES
Thracian Religion
Geto-Dacian Religion

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Bendis
Dacian Riders
Sabazios
Thracian Rider
Zalmoxis

RELATED ARTICLES
Indo-European Religions
An Overview
History of Study

Tibetan Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES
Tibetan Religions
An Overview
History of Study
Bon

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Avalokiteśvara
Buddhism
Buddhism in Tibet
Buddhism, Schools of
Tantric Ritual Schools of Buddhism [First Edition]
Tantric Ritual Schools of Buddhism [Further Considerations]
Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism
Himalayan Buddhism
Buddhist Meditation
Tibetan Buddhist Meditation
Cakrasamvara
Chanting
Dalai Lama
Dzogchen
Gesar
Healing and Medicine
Healing and Medicine in Tibet
Kālacakra
Karma pas
Kingship
Kingship in East Asia
Magic
Magic in East Asia
Mahāmudrā
Merit
Buddhist Concepts
Music
Music and Religion in China, Korea and Tibet
Orgy
Orgy in Asia
Pilgrimage
Tibetan Pilgrimage
Rnying ma pa (Nyingmapa) School
Saṃgha
Saṃgha and Society in Tibet
Shugs ldan (Shugden)
Tantrism
An Overview
Temple
Buddhist Temple Compounds in Tibet
Treasure Tradition
Worship and Devotional Life
Buddhist Devotional Life in Tibet

BIOGRAPHIES
Ani Lochen
Atīśa
Bu ston
Klong chen rab 'byams pa (Longchenpa)
Kong sprul blo gros mtha' yas (Kongtrul Lodro Taye)
Ma gcig lab sgron (Machig Labdron)
Mar pa
Mi la ras pa (Milarepa)
Nā ro pa
Padmasambhava
Sakya Paṇḍita (Sa skya Paṇḍita)
Sgam po pa (Gampopa)
Tsong kha pa
Ye shes Mtsho rgyal (Yeshe Tsogyal)

Turkic Religions

See in this outline under
Altaic Religions.

Uralic Religions

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES
Finno-Ugric Religions
An Overview
History of Study
Samoyed Religion

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Finnish Religions
Hungarian Religion
Ilmarinen
Karelian Religion
Khanty and Mansi Religion
Komi Religion
Lemminkäinen
Lönnrot, Elias
Mari and Mordvin Religion
Num-Tūrem
Sami Religion
Tuonela
Ukko
Väinämöinen

Vaiṣṇavism
See in this outline under
Hinduism.

Vedism and Brahamanism
See in this outline under
Hinduism.

Zoroastrianism

PRINCIPAL ARTICLE
Zoroastrianism

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu
Ahuras
Airyana Vaējah
Amesha Spentas
Anāhitā
Ateshgah
Avesta
Chinvat Bridge
Daivas
Dakhma
Frashōkereti
Fravashis
Gender and Religion
Gender and Zoroastrianism
Haoma
Khvarenah
Magi
Parsis
Saoshyant
Yazatas
Zarathushtra

RELATED ARTICLES
Indo-European Religions
An Overview
History of Study
Iranian Religions

II. RELIGIOUS STUDIES

Part II of this outline presents the Encyclopedia's coverage of thematic topics in religion and the study of religion. It is organized according to the following scheme:

Religious Phenomena

Art, Science, and Society
Art and Religion
Science and Religion
Society and Religion

The Study of Religion
History of Study
Methods of Study
Philosophy and Religion
Scholarly Terms
Scholars of Religion

In the first two sections, Religious Phenomena *and* Art, Science, and Society, *are listed entries that present results from the scholarly study of religion. In the third section,* The Study of Religion, *are listed entries that focus attention on the history and techniques of religious studies themselves.*

Religious Phenomena
Here are listed thematic entries that concern objects, practices, beliefs, and motifs that are observable in numerous religious traditions.

Ablutions
Affliction
An Overview
Afterlife
An Overview
Geographies of Death
Ages of the World
Agriculture
Alchemy
An Overview
Almsgiving
Alphabets
Altar
Amulets and Talismans
Anamnesis
Ancestors
Ancestor Worship
Mythic Ancestors
Anchor
Androgynes
Angels
Animals
Apocalypse
An Overview
Apologetics
Apostasy
Ascension
Ashes
Astrology
Attention
Baptism
Baths
Bears
Beauty
Beverages
Binding
Birds
Birth
Blades
Blessing
Blood
Boats
Bodily Marks
Bones
Bread
Breath and Breathing
Bridges
Bull-Roarers
Calendars
An Overview
Cannibalism
Canon
Cards
Carnival
Castration
Casuistry
Cats
Cattle
Caves
Celibacy
Chance
Chaos
Charity
Chastity
Child
Chronology
Circle
Circumambulation
Circumcision
Cities
Clitoridectomy
Clothing
Clothing and Religion in the East
Clothing and Religion in the West
Clowns
Cocks
Codes and Codification
Colors
Confession of Sins
Conscience
Consciousness, States of
Consecration
Covenant
Creeds
An Overview
Crossroads
Crown

Cursing
Death
Demons
  An Overview
  Psychological Perspectives
Descent into the Underworld
Deserts
Desire
Devils
Devotion
Diamond
Dismemberment
Divination
  An Overview
Doctrine
Dogs
Doubleness
Dragons
Dreams
Drums
Eagles and Hawks
Earth
Ecstasy
Egg
Election
Elephants
Elixir
Enlightenment
Eremitism
Eternity
Evil
Exile
Exorcism
Expulsion
Eye
Fairies
Faith
Fall, The
Family
Fasting
Fate
Feet
Fire
Fish
Flight
Flood, The
Flowers
Food
Fountain
Foxes
Frogs and Toads
Funeral Rites
  An Overview
Gambling
Games
Gardens
  An Overview
Genealogy
Geography
Geomancy
Geometry
Ghosts
Gift Giving
Glossolalia
Goddess Worship
  An Overview
Gods and Goddesses
Gold and Silver
Golden Age
Golden Rule
Good, The
Gurū
Hair
Hands
Head
  Symbolism and Ritual Use
Healing and Medicine
  An Overview
Heart
Heaven and Hell
Hedgehogs
Heroes
Hierodouleia
Historiography
  An Overview
Home
Homosexuality
Hope
Horns
Horses
Hospitality
Human Body
  Myths and Symbolism
  Human Bodies, Religion, and Gender
  Human Bodies, Religion, and Art
Human Sacrifice
  An Overview
Humor and Religion
  An Overview
Idolatry
Images
  Veneration of Images
  Images, Icons, and Idols
Incantation
Incarnation
Incense
Initiation
  An Overview
  Men's Initiation
  Women's Initiation
Insects
Inspiration
Jade
Jaguars
Judgment of the Dead
Keys
Kingdom of God
Kingship
  An Overview
Kinship
Knees
Knots
Knowledge and Ignorance
Labyrinth
Lakes
Laity
Language
  Sacred Language
Leaven
Lesbianism
Left and Right
Libation
Liberation
Life
Light and Darkness
Liminality
Lions
Lotus
Marriage
Martial Arts
  An Overview
Martyrdom
Masks
Meditation
  An Overview
Memorization
Mendicancy
Menstruation
Merit
  An Overview
Metals and Metallurgy
Miracles
  An Overview
Mirrors
Missions
  Missionary Activity
Monasticism
  An Overview
Money
Monkeys

Monsters
Moon
Mortification
Mountains
Mystical Union in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam
Names and Naming
Necromancy
New Year Festivals
Nimbus
Nonviolence
Nudity
Numbers
  An Overview
  Binary Symbolism
Nuns
  An Overview
Obedience
Oceans
Omophagia
Oracles
Ordeal
Ordination
Orgy
  An Overview
Otherworld
Owls
Pain
Parables and Proverbs
Paradise
Paradox and Riddles
Patriarchy and Matriarchy
Peace
Pearl
Performance and Ritual
Phallus and Vagina
Pigs
Pilgrimage
  An Overview
Portals
Portents and Prodigies
Postures and Gestures
Prayer
Priesthood
  An Overview
Procession
Prophecy
  An Overview
Psychedelic Drugs
Purification
  An Overview
Quaternity
Quests
Rabbits
Rain
Redemption
Reincarnation
Rejuvenation
Relics
Religious Communities
  Religion, Community, and Society
Religious Education
Repentance
Resurrection
Retreat
Revelation
Revenge and Retribution
Rivers
Sacrifice [First Edition]
Sacrifice [Further Considerations]
Sainthood
Salt
Salutations
Sanctuary
Satan
Sati
Scapegoat
Scripture
Sexuality
  An Overview [First Edition]
  An Overview [Further Considerations]
Shamanism
  An Overview [First Edition]
  An Overview [Further Considerations]
Shape Shifting
Sheep and Goats
Shrines
Sin and Guilt
Sky
  The Heavens as Hierophany
  Myths and Symbolism
Sleep
Smoking
Snakes
Spells
Spirit Possession
  An Overview
  Women and Possession
Spiritual Discipline
Spirituality
Spittle and Spitting
Stars
Stones
Suffering
Suicide
Sun
Swans
Tears
Temptation
Tobacco
Touching
Transmigration
Trees
Triads
Truth
Turtles and Tortoises
Twins
  An Overview
Underworld
Vegetation
Violence
Virginity
Visions
Vocation
Vows and Oaths
War and Warriors
  An Overview
Water
Webs and Nets
Wisdom
Wolves
Work
Yoni

Art, Science, and Society

The next three sub-sections of this outline list entries that address religion in relation to, respectively, art, science, and society.

Art and Religion

PRINCIPAL ARTICLE

Art and Religion

SUPPORTING ARTICLES

Aesthetics
  Philosophical Aesthetics
  Visual Aesthetics
Architecture
Autobiography
Basilica, Cathedral, and Church
Beauty
Biography
Bodily Marks
Calligraphy
  An Overview
  Chinese and Japanese Calligraphy

- Hebrew Micrography
- Islamic Calligraphy

Caves
Chanting
Clothing
- Clothing and Religion in the East
- Clothing and Religion in the West
- Dress and Religion in America's Sectarian Communities

Colors
Dance
- Dance and Religion
- Popular and Folk Dance [First Edition]
- Popular and Folk Dance [Further Considerations]
- Theatrical and Liturgical Dance [First Edition]
- Theatrical and Liturgical Dance [Further Considerations]

Drama
- Drama and Religion
- Ancient Near Eastern Ritual Drama [First Edition]
- Ancient Near Eastern Ritual Drama [Further Considerations]
- Middle Eastern Narrative Traditions
- Indian Dance and Dance Drama
- Balinese Dance and Dance Drama
- Javanese Wayang
- East Asian Dance and Theater
- African Religious Drama
- North American Indian Dance and Drama
- Mesoamerican Dance and Drama
- European Religious Drama [First Edition]
- European Religious Drama [Further Considerations]
- Modern Western Theater

Drums
Epics
Fiction
- History of the Novel
- The Western Novel and Religion
- Latin American Fiction and Religion
- Chinese Fiction and Religion
- Japanese Fiction and Religion
- South Asian Fiction and Religion*
- Southeast Asian Fiction and Religion
- Australian Fiction and Religion
- Oceanic Fiction and Religion
- African Fiction and Religion
- Native American Fiction and Religion

Film and Religion
Gardens
- An Overview
- Gardens in Indigenous Traditions
- Islamic Gardens

Human Body
- Myths and Symbolism
- Human Bodies, Religion, and Art

Iconoclasm
- An Overview
- Iconoclasm in the Byzantine Tradition

Iconography
- Iconography as Visible Religion [First Edition]
- Iconography as Visible Religion [Further Considerations]
- Traditional African Iconography
- Australian Aboriginal Iconography
- Native North American Iconography
- Mesoamerican Iconography
- Mesopotamian Iconography
- Egyptian Iconography
- Greco-Roman Iconography
- Hindu Iconography
- Buddhist Iconography
- Daoist Iconography
- Confucian Iconography
- Jewish Iconography [First Edition]
- Jewish Iconography [Further Considerations]
- Christian Iconography
- Islamic Iconography

Icons
Idolatry
Images
- Veneration of Images
- Images, Icons, and Idols

Law and Religion
- Law, Religion, and Literature

Literature[11]
- Literature and Religion
- Religious Dimensions of Modern Western Literature [First Edition]
- Religious Dimensions of Modern Western Literature [Further Considerations]
- Critical Theory and Religious Studies

Masks
Monastery
Mosque
- Architectural Aspects

Museums and Religion
Music
- Music and Religion
- Music and Religion in Sub-Saharan Africa
- Music and Religion in Indigenous Australia
- Music and Religion in Oceania
- Music and Religion in Mesoamerica
- Music and Religion in South America
- Music and Religion in the Middle East
- Music and Religion in India
- Music and Religion in Southeast Asia
- Music and Religion in China, Korea, and Tibet
- Music and Religion in Japan
- Music and Religion in Greece, Rome, and Byzantium
- Religious Music in the West

Percussion and Noise
Performance and Ritual
Play

[11] *For the religious literatures of various traditions, see in part I of this outline under the names of specific religious traditions.*

Poetry
Poetry and Religion
Indian Religious Poetry
Chinese Religious Poetry
Japanese Religious Poetry
Christian Poetry
Islamic Poetry
Native American Poetry and Religion
Portals
Postures and Gestures
Purim Plays
Pyramids
An Overview
Egyptian Pyramids
Sacred Space
Sacred Time
Shrines
Synagogue
Ta'ziyah
Temple
Hindu Temples
Buddhist Temple Compounds in South Asia
Buddhist Temple Compounds in East Asia
Buddhist Temple Compounds in Tibet
Buddhist Temple Compounds in Southeast Asia
Daoist Temple Compounds
Confucian Temple Compounds
Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean Temples
Mesoamerican Temples
Textiles
Tombs
Towers
Visual Culture and Religion
An Overview
Outsider Art

Science and Religion

PRINCIPAL ARTICLE
Science and Religion

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion
Archaeology and Religion
Artificial Intelligence
Bioethics
Chaos Theory
Copernicus, Nicolaus
Cosmology
Scientific Cosmologies
Cybernetics
Ecology and Religion
Science, Religion, and Ecology
Einstein, Albert
Ethnoastronomy
Euclid
Eugenics
Evolution
The Controversy with Creationism
Evolutionism
Evolutionary Ethics
Gaia
Galen
Galileo Galilei
Genetics and Religion
Geometry
Healing and Medicine
An Overview
Healing and Medicine in Africa
Healing and Medicine in the African Diaspora
Healing and Medicine in the Ancient Near East
Healing and Medicine in Judaism
Healing and Medicine in Islamic Texts and Traditions
Popular Healing Practices in Middle Eastern Cultures
Healing and Medicine in Greece and Rome
Healing and Medicine in Christianity
Alternative Medicine in the New Age
Healing and Medicine in Ayurveda and South Asia
Healing and Medicine in China
Healing and Medicine in Tibet
Healing and Medicine in Japan
Healing and Medicine in Indigenous Australia
Health and Religion
Hippocrates
Intelligent Design
Kepler, Johannes
Magic
Theories of Magic
Medical Ethics
Native American Science
Neuroscience and Religion
An Overview
Neuroepistemology
Neurotheology
Newton, Isaac
Numbers
An Overview
Binary Symbolism
Paracelsus
Physics and Religion
Psychology
Psychology of Religion
Psychotherapy and Religion
Schizoanalysis and Religion
Ptolemy
Sociobiology and Evolutionary Psychology
An Overview
Darwinism and Religion
Sociology
Sociology and Religion [First Edition]
Sociology and Religion [Further Considerations]
Sociology of Religion [First Edition]
Sociology of Religion [Further Considerations]
Two Books, The

Society and Religion

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES
Society and Religion [First Edition]
Society and Religion [Further Considerations]

SUPPORTING ARTICLES
Authority
Ceremony
Charisma
Cities
Civil Religion
Community
Conversion
Cults and Sects
Ecology and Religion
An Overview
Ecology and Indigenous Traditions
Ecology and Hinduism
Ecology and Jainism
Ecology and Buddhism
Ecology and Confucianism
Ecology and Daoism

- Ecology and Shintō
- Ecology and Judaism
- Ecology and Christianity
- Ecology and Islam
- Environmental Ethics, World Religions, and Ecology
- Science, Religion, and Ecology
- Ecology and Nature Religions

Economics and Religion
Engaged Buddhism
Folk Religion
- An Overview

Functionalism
Gender Roles
Gender and Religion
- An Overview
- History of Study
- Gender and Hinduism
- Gender and Jainism
- Gender and Buddhism
- Gender and Sikhism
- Gender and Chinese Religions
- Gender and Japanese Religions
- Gender and Judaism
- Gender and Christianity
- Gender and Islam
- Gender and Zoroastrianism
- Gender and Ancient Near Eastern Religions
- Gender and Ancient Mediterranean Religions
- Gender and Celtic Religions
- Gender and Australian Indigenous Religions
- Gender and Oceanic Religions
- Gender and African Religious Traditions
- Gender and African American Religions*
- Gender and North American Indian Religious Traditions
- Gender and Mesoamerican Religions
- Gender and South American Religions

Globalization and Religion
Health and Religion
Human Rights and Religion
Humor and Religion
- An Overview
- Humor and Religion in East Asian Contexts
- Humor and Religion in Islam
- Humor, Irony, and the Comic in Western Theology and Philosophy

Implicit Religion
Intellectuals
Invisible Religion
Journalism and Religion
Law and Religion
- An Overview
- Law and Religion in the Ancient Mediterranean World
- Law and Religion in Medieval Europe
- Law and Religion in Indigenous Cultures
- Law and Religion in Hinduism
- Law and Religion in Buddhism
- Law and Religion in Chinese Religions
- Law, Religion, and Literature
- Law, Religion, and Critical Theory
- Law, Religion, and Human Rights
- Law, Religion, and Morality
- Law, Religion, and Punishment
- Law and New Religious Movements

Leadership
Legitimation
Media and Religion
Modernity
Migration and Religion
Morality and Religion
Museums and Religion
New Religious Movements
- An Overview
- History of Study
- Scriptures of New Religious Movements
- New Religious Movements and Women
- New Religious Movements and Children
- New Religious Movements and Millenialism
- New Religious Movements and Violence
- New Religious Movements in the United States
- New Religious Movements in Europe
- New Religious Movements in Japan
- New Religious Movements in Latin America

Politics and Religion
- An Overview
- Politics and Buddhism
- Politics and Chinese Religion
- Politics and Japanese Religions
- Politics and Ancient Mediterranean Religions
- Politics and Judaism*
- Politics and Christianity
- Politics and Islam
- Politics and African Religious Traditions
- Politics and Oceanic Religions
- Politics and Native American Religious Traditions

Popular Culture
Popular Religion
Religious Broadcasting
Religious Communities
- Religion, Community, and Society

Religious Diversity
Revival and Renewal
Revolution
Rites of Passage
- An Overview [First Edition]
- An Overview [Further Considerations]
- African Rites
- Oceanic Rites
- North American Indian Rites*
- Mesoamerican Rites
- Hindu Rites
- Jewish Rites
- Muslim Rites
- Neopagan Rites

Ritual [First Edition]
Ritual [Further Considerations]
Secret Societies
Secularization
Sociology
- Sociology and Religion [First Edition]
- Sociology and Religion [Further Considerations]
- Sociology of Religion [First Edition]
- Sociology of Religion [Further Considerations]

Sports and Religion
Tourism and Religion

Tradition
Transculturation and Religion
An Overview
Religion in the Formation of the Modern United States*
Religion in the Formation of Modern Canada
Religion in the Formation of the Modern Caribbean
Religion in the Formation of Modern Japan
Religion in the Formation of Modern India
Religion and the Formation of Modern Oceania
Utopia
Visual Culture and Religion
An Overview
Outsider Art
Wealth

The Study of Religion

The final five sub-sections of this outline list entries that examine disciplinary, methodological, speculative, and theoretical issues in the study of religion as well as entries that report on the people who have formed that study.

History of Study

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES

Study of Religion
An Overview
The Academic Study of Religion in Australia and Oceania
The Academic Study of Religion in China*
The Academic Study of Relgion in Eastern Europe and Russia
The Academic Study of Religion in Japan
The Academic Study of Religion in North Africa and the Middle East
The Academic Study of Religion in North America
The Academic Study of Religion in South Asia
The Academic Study of Religion in Sub-Saharan Africa
The Academic Study of Religion in Western Europe*

SUPPORTING ARTICLES

African Religions
History of Study
African American Religions
History of Study
Arctic Religions
History of Study
Australian Indigenous Religions
History of Study [First Edition]
History of Study [Further Considerations]
Baltic Religion
History of Study
Buddhist Studies
Caribbean Religions
History of Study*
Chinese Religion
History of Study
Confucianism
History of Study
Daoism
History of Study
Egyptian Religion
History of Study
Finno-Ugric Religions
History of Study
Gender and Religion
History of Study
Germanic Religion
History of Study
Gnosticism
History of Study
Indian Religions
History of Study
Indo-European Religions
History of Study
Islamic Studies [First Edition]
Islamic Studies [Further Considerations]
Japanese Religions
The Study of Myths
Jewish Studies
Jewish Studies from 1818 to 1919
Jewish Studies since 1919
Mesoamerican Religions
History of Study
Mesopotamian Religions
History of Study
New Religious Movements
History of Study
North American Indian Religions
History of Study
Oceanic Religions
History of Study [First Edition]
History of Study [Further Considerations]
South American Indian Religions
History of Study
Southeast Asian Religions
History of Study
Tibetan Religions
History of Study

Methods of Study

Anthropology, Ethnology, and Religion
Archaeology and Religion
Classification of Religions
Comparative-Historical Method [First Edition]
Comparative-Historical Method [Further Considerations]
Comparative Mythology
Comparative Religion
Deconstruction
Ecology and Religion
An Overview
Encyclopedias
Ethnoastronomy
Ethology of Religion
Evolution
Evolutionism
Feminism
Feminism, Gender Studies, and Religion
French Feminists on Religion
Feminist Theology
An Overview
Christian Feminist Theology
Festschriften
Hermeneutics
Historiography
An Overview
Western Studies [First Edition]
Western Studies [Further Considerations]
History of Religions [First Edition]
History of Religions [Further Considerations]*
Kulturkreiselehre
Literature
Critical Theory and Religious Studies
Men's Studies in Religion
Myth and Ritual School

Pali Text Society
Periodical Literature*
Phenomenology of Religion
Philosophy
  Philosophy of Religion
Psychology
  Psychology of Religion
  Schizoanalysis and Religion
Reference Works
Religionsgeschichtliche Schule
Ritual Studies
Sociobiology and Evolutionary Psychology
  An Overview
  Darwinism and Religion
Sociology
  Sociology of Religion [First Edition]
  Sociology of Religion [Further Considerations]
Structuralism [First Edition]
Structuralism [Further Considerations]
Study of Religion
  An Overview
Subaltern Studies
Theology
  Comparative Theology
Women's Studies in Religion

Philosophy and Religion

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES

Philosophy
  An Overview
  Philosophy and Religion
  Philosophy of Religion

SUPPORTING ARTICLES[12]

Aesthetics
  Philosophical Aesthetics
  Visual Aesthetics
Analytic Philosophy
Apologetics
Aristotelianism
Atheism
Bioethics
Buddhist Ethics
Buddhist Philosophy
Chaos Theory
Chinese Philosophy
Christian Ethics
Dao and De
Deism
Deity
Doubt and Belief
Dualism
Ecology and Religion
  Ecology and Nature Religions
Empiricism
Enlightenment, The
Epistemology
Esotericism
Eternity
Evil
Evolution
  Evolutionary Ethics
Existentialism
Falsafah
Free Will and Determinism
Free Will and Predestination
  An Overview
  Christian Concepts
  Islamic Concepts
Gnosticism
  Gnosticism from Its Origins to the Middle Ages [First Edition]
  Gnosticism from Its Origins to the Middle Ages [Further Considerations]
  Gnosticism from the Middle Ages to the Present
  Gnosticism as a Christian Heresy
  History of Study
God
  God in the Hebrew Scriptures
  God in the New Testament
  God in Postbiblical Judaism
  God in Postbiblical Christianity
  God in Islam
  African Supreme Beings
Golden Rule
Good, The
Henotheism
Hermeneutics
Hermetism
Humanism
Human Rights and Religion
Humor and Religion
  Humor, Irony, and the Comic in Western Theology and Philosophy
Idealism
Indian Philosophies
Intuition
Jewish Thought and Philosophy
  Premodern Philosophy
  Modern Thought
  Jewish Ethical Literature
Knowledge and Ignorance
Language
  Sacred Language
  Buddhist Views of Language
Law and Religion
  Law, Religion, and Human Rights
  Law, Religion, and Morality
  Law, Religion, and Punishment
Liberation Theology
Logic
Logical Positivism
Materialism
Medical Ethics
Metaphysics
Monism
Monotheism
Morality and Religion
Mysticism [First Edition]
Mysticism [Further Considerations]
Naturalism
Nature
  Religious and Philosophical Speculations
Neoplatonism
Nominalism
Occultism
Ontology
Pantheism and Panentheism
Phenomenology of Religion
Platonism
Positivism
Proofs for the Existence of God
Reflexivity
Relativism
Religion [First Edition]
Religion [Further Considerations]
Religious Experience
Scholasticism
Semantics
Skeptics and Skepticism

[12] *For additional relevant entries, see also in this outline under* **The Study of Religion**, *sub-section on* **Scholars of Religion**. *For biographies of specific philosophers, see in part I of this outline under the names of specific religious traditions.*

- Soul
  - Concepts in Indigenous Religions
  - Ancient Near Eastern Concepts
  - Greek and Hellenistic Concepts
  - Indian Concepts
  - Buddhist Concepts
  - Chinese Concepts
  - Jewish Concept
  - Christian Concepts
  - Islamic Concepts
- Stoicism
- Structuralism [First Edition]
- Structuralism [Further Considerations]
- Supernatural, The
- Thealogy
- Theism
- Theodicy
- Theurgy
- Transcendence and Immanence
- Truth
- Utopia
- Via Negativa
- Wisdom

Scholarly Terms

- Androcentrism
- Animism and Animatism
- Anthropomorphism
- Archetypes
- Asceticism
- Atheism
- Atua
- Authority
- Axis Mundi
- Center of the World
- Ceremony
- Charisma
- Colonialism and Postcolonialism
- Community
- Conversion
- Cosmogony
- Cosmology
  - An Overview
- Couvade
- Creolization
- Cults and Sects
- Culture
- Culture Heroes
- Deconstruction
- Deification
- Deity
- Deus Otiosus
- Dialogue of Religions
- Dualism
- Dying and Rising Gods
- Dynamism
- Ecology and Religion
  - An Overview
- Enthusiasm
- Eschatology
  - An Overview
- Esotericism
- Euhemerus and Euhemerism
- Evolution
  - The Controversy with Creationism
  - Evolutionism
- Feminine Sacrality
- Feminism
  - Feminism, Gender Studies, and Religion
  - French Feminists on Religion
- Fetishism
- Flow Experience
- Folklore
- Folk Religion
  - An Overview
- Free Will and Predestination
  - An Overview
- Frenzy
- Gaia
- Gender and Religion
  - An Overview
- Gender Roles
- Globalization and Religion
- Goddess Worship
  - Theoretical Perspectives
- Gynocentrism
- Henotheism
- Heresy
  - An Overview
- Hierophany
- Hieros Gamos
- Holy, Idea of the
- Homo Religiosus
- Iconoclasm
  - An Overview
- Implicit Religion
- Invisible Religion
- Kinship
- Lady of the Animals
- Leadership
- Legitimation
- Lesbianism
- Liberation
- Liminality
- Liturgy
- Lord of the Animals
- Magic
  - Theories of Magic
- Mana
- Manism
- Masculine Sacrality
- Materiality*
- Megalithic Religion
  - Prehistoric Evidence
  - Historical Cultures
- Messianism
  - An Overview
- Meteorological Beings
- Millenarianism
  - An Overview
- Miracles
  - Modern Perspectives
- Modernity
- Monism
- Monotheism
- Mysticism [First Edition]
- Mysticism [Further Considerations]
- Myth
  - An Overview
  - Myth and History
- Nature
  - Religious and Philosophical Speculations
  - Worship of Nature
- Neolithic Religion
- Occultism
- Oral Tradition
- Orientalism
- Orientation
- Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy
- Orthopraxy
- Paleolithic Religion
- Pantheism and Panentheism
- Patriarchy and Matriarchy
- Perfectibility
- Performance and Ritual
- Play
- Polytheism
- Popular Religion
- Power
- Preanimism
- Primitivism*
- Reflexivity
- Reform
- Religion [First Edition]
- Religion [Further Considerations]
- Religious Diversity

Religious Experience
Revival and Renewal
Rites of Passage
  An Overview [First Edition]
  An Overview [Further Considerations]
Ritual [First Edition]
Ritual [Further Considerations]
Sacrament
  An Overview
Sacred and the Profane, The
Sacred Space
Sacred Time
Sacrifice
Sacrilege
Schism
  An Overview
Seasonal Ceremonies
Secret Societies
Secularization
Shamanism
  An Overview [First Edition]
  An Overview [Further Considerations]
Soteriology
Spirit Possession
  An Overview
  Women and Possession
Spiritual Guide
Spirituality
Supernatural, The
Superstition
Supreme Beings
Symbolic Time
Symbol and Symbolism
Syncretism [First Edition]
Syncretism [Further Considerations]
Taboo
Thealogy
Theism
Theocracy
Theodicy
Therianthropism
Totemism
Tradition
Transcendence and Immanence
Transculturation and Religion
  An Overview
Tricksters
  An Overview
Utopia
Via Negativa
Wisdom Literature
  Theoretical Perspectives
Witchcraft
  Concepts of Witchcraft
World Religions

Scholars of Religion[13]
Adams, Hannah
Andrae, Tor
Anesaki Masaharu
Baal, Jan van
Bachofen, J. J.
Bakhtin, M. M.
Baur, F. C.
Benedict, Ruth
Berndt, Catherine H.
Berndt, Ronald
Bertholet, Alfred
Beth, Karl
Bianchi, Ugo
Bleeker, C. Jouco
Boas, Franz
Brandon, S. G. F.
Brelich, Angelo
Breuil, Henri
Burckhardt, Titus
Burnouf, Eugène
Campbell, Joseph
Capps, Walter
Cassirer, Ernst
Castrén, Matthias Alexander
Chantepie de la Saussaye, P. D.
Child, Lydia Maria
Ching, Julia*
Christensen, Arthur
Clemen, Carl
Codrington, R. H.
Comte, Auguste
Coomaraswamy, Ananda
Corbin, Henry
Creuzer, G. F.
Culianu, Ioan Petru
Cumont, Franz
Delitzsch, Friedrich
Deloria, Ella Cara
de Martino, Ernesto
Demiéville, Paul
Dieterich, Albrecht
Dieterlen, Germaine
Dilthey, Wilhelm
Dömötör, Tekla
Donner, Kai
Dumézil, Georges
Durkheim, Émile
Eliade, Mircea [First Edition]
Eliade, Mircea [Further Considerations]
Evans, Arthur
Evans-Pritchard, E. E.
Evola, Julius
Firth, Raymond
Foucher, Alfred
Frankfort, Henri
Frazer, James G.
Freud, Sigmund
Frick, Heinrich
Frobenius, Leo
Frye, Northrop
Fustel de Coulanges, N. D.
Gaster, Theodor H.
Gennep, Arnold van
Gillen, Francis James, and Baldwin Spencer
Gimbutas, Marija
Glasenapp, Helmuth von
Goblet d'Alviella, Eugène
Goldenweiser, Alexander A.
Goldziher, Ignácz
Goodenough, Erwin R.
Görres, Joseph von
Graebner, Fritz
Granet, Marcel
Griaule, Marcel
Grimm Brothers
Groot, J. J. M. de
Guénon, René
Haavio, Martti
Hall, G. Stanley
Harnack, Adolf von
Harrison, Jane E.
Hartland, E. Sidney
Harva, Uno
Hastings, James
Haydon, A. Eustace
Heiler, Friedrich
Herder, Johann Gottfried
Hobbes, Thomas
Honko, Lauri
Horner, I. B.
Howitt, A. W.

[13] *For other scholars of religion, modern and premodern, who are closely associated with particular religions, see also in part I of this outline the biographies listed under the names of specific religious traditions.*

Hügel, Friedrich von
Husserl, Edmund
James, E. O.
James, William
Jensen, Adolf E.
Jevons, F. B.
Jonas, Hans
Jung, C. G.
Kaberry, Phyllis M.
Kenyon, Kathleen
Kerényi, Károly
Kitagawa, Joseph M.
Klimkeit, Hans-Joachim
Kraemer, Hendrik
Kramrisch, Stella
Kristensen, W. Brede
Laestadius, Lars Levi
Lamotte, Étienne
Lang, Andrew
Langer, Susanne
La Vallée Poussin, Louis de
Lawrence, Peter
Leach, Edmund
Leenhardt, Maurice
Leeuw, Gerardus van der
Lehmann, Edvard
Leuba, James H.
Lévi, Sylvain
Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien
Loisy, Alfred
Lönnrot, Elias
Lowie, Robert H.
Malinowski, Bronislaw
Mannhardt, Wilhelm
Marett, R. R.
Marie de l'Incarnation
Marx, Karl
Maspero, Henri
Massignon, Louis
Mauss, Marcel
Mead, Margaret
Moore, George Foot
Müller, F. Max
Müller, Karl O.
Myerhoff, Barbara G.
Neumann, Erich
Nilsson, Martin P.
Nock, Arthur Darby
Nyberg, H. S.
Oldenberg, Hermann
Otto, Rudolf
Otto, Walter F.
Oxtoby, Willard G.*
Pauck, Wilhelm
Pettazzoni, Raffaele
Pinard de la Boullaye, Henri
Pratt, James B.
Preuss, Konrad T.
Przyluski, Jean
Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.
Radin, Paul
Rappaport, Roy A.
Reguly, Antal
Reinach, Salomon
Renan, Ernest
Renou, Louis
Richardson, Cyril C.
Rohde, Erwin
Róheim, Géza
Said, Edward W.
Scheler, Max
Schimmel, Annemarie
Schlegel, Friedrich
Schleiermacher, Friedrich
Schmidt, Wilhelm
Schweitzer, Albert
Seidel, Anna Katharina
Shahrastānī, al-
Sharpe, Eric J.
Smart, Ninian
Smith, Morton
Smith, Wilfred Cantwell
Smith, W. Robertson
Snouck Hurgronje, Christiaan
Söderblom, Nathan
Sohm, Rudolf
Ṣorokin, Pitirim Aleksandrovich
Spencer, Herbert
Stanner, W. E. H.
Starbuck, E. D.
Stcherbatsky, Theodore
Sundén, Hjalmar
Taubes, Jakob
Tiele, C. P.
Tönnies, Ferdinand
Troeltsch, Ernst
Tucci, Giuseppe
Turner, Victor
Tylor, E. B.
Underhill, Evelyn
Usener, Hermann
Vierkandt, Alfred
Vries, Jan de
Wach, Joachim [First Edition]
Wach, Joachim [Further Considerations]
Waldman, Marilyn Robinson
Walker, James R.
Warburg, Aby
Weber, Max
Wellhausen, Julius
Wensinck, A. J.
Wheatley, Paul
Widengren, Geo
Wikander, Stig
Wissowa, Georg
Wundt, Wilhelm
Yates, Frances Amelia
Zaehner, R. C.
Zimmer, Heinrich Robert
Zolla, Elémire

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Aapatohsipiikani, 958
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  genealogy of, 5423
  Miriam and, 6062
  in priesthood, 1–2, 5423, 6852
  as prophet, 1
  scapegoat ritual by, 8144
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Aaron ben Joseph, writings of, 5085
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